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RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

On the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the Reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an Editio Princeps; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

Rolls House,
December 1857.

GESTA REGIS HENRICI SECUNDI BENEDICTI ABBATIS.

THE CHRONICLE

OF THE

REIGNS OF HENRY II. AND RICHARD I.

A.D. 1169—1192;

KNOWN COMMONLY UNDER THE NAME OF

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH.

EDITED, FROM THE COTTON. MSS.,

BY

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VOL. II.

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PREFACE.

PREFACE.

HAVING devoted the Preface to the first volume to the discussion of the literary history of this book, I will now proceed to sketch the character and position of the great prince whose reign forms the subject of far the largest portion of its contents.

Some realization of character necessary for the student of history.

It is almost a matter of necessity for the student of history to work out for himself some definite idea of the characters of the great men of the period he is employed upon. History cannot be well read as a chess problem, and the man who tries to read it so is not worthy to read it at all. Its scenes cannot be realized, its lessons cannot be learned, if the actors are looked on merely as puppets. A living interest must invest those who played a part in making the world what it is: those whose very existence has left indelible traces on its history, must have had characteristics worthy of the most careful investigation.

Such realization only approximate at best.

Such a judgment as may be formed in the nineteenth century, of a king of the twelfth, may well seem unsatisfactory. With the utmost pains it is hard to persuade ourselves that a true view is obtained, or is even obtainable. We know too little of his personal actions to be able in many cases to distinguish between them and those of his advisers; or to say whether he was a man of weak will or of strong; whether his good deeds proceeded from fear or from virtue, or from the love of praise; whether his bad ones were the workings of hasty impulse, or the breaking out of concealed habit, or the

result of a long struggle between good motives and evil passions.

Opinions of contemporary writers as to character are not to be depended upon.

Neither can we accept the delineations of contemporary writers without carefully testing them at every step. They are almost always superficial, but if that were the only fault we might be content to accept them as the verdict of ordinary judges, and it is always satisfactory to know what a man's contemporaries thought of him, even if they were neither close observers nor judicious critics. But their descriptions are seldom to be trusted even in this respect, for they betray almost universally a bias for or against the hero. The one in a thousand who is so far removed from personal feeling as to wish to take a philosophical or consistent view, is probably too far removed from acquaintance to be able to distinguish the truth from falsehood. The contemporary historian cannot view the career of his leading character as a whole; he sees it too closely, or else he sees it through a distorting medium. Hence the unsearchableness of the king's heart is so often given by mediæval writers as the reason for measures the bent of which they do not see, and as to which, for the want of acquaintance with other acts of the same kind, they cannot generalize.

Kings must be judged by their acts, and that judgment tested by their reputation in their own days.

The heart of kings is unsearchable; but on the other hand their freedom of action is, or rather was, in the middle ages, uncontrolled by external restraints. In them, as in no other men, can the outward conduct be safely assumed to be the unrestrained expression of the inward character. It is from observing the general current of the life, from the examination of the recorded acts of it, that the only reasonable view of the character can be obtained. Standing too far off in time and mode of thought to be in much danger of imputing modern principles and motives, we can generalize somewhat as to the inward life of a man if we know what his outward life was; and then we can compare our conclusion with

the judgment of contemporaries, and see whether such men as they were would be likely to think as they have done of such a man as we have described to ourselves.

If we know enough of the facts of a man's life we can draw such a picture. Character that is not shown in act is not strong enough to be worthy of the name. The man whose character is worth study must be one whose acts bear the marks of character. In the view of a long life, some generalizations can almost always be drawn, from the repetition of acts, from the uniformity or uncertainty of policy. A king who lets his advisers act for him in one case will show the like weakness in others; will act in different ways under different personal influences. But one who all his life chooses his counsellors on one principle, and follows with them a uniform line of policy, chooses them because he approves their policy, or rather because they will carry out his own. And that policy, if such be traceable, is the expression of the strongest principles of his own character; it may be confused or perplexed by his minor traits, but it cannot be suppressed by them, and if it exists it will be seen in operation.

Such judgment possible in the case of a long reign.

A uniform policy a key to character.

A careful reading of the history of the three centuries of Angevin kings might almost tempt one to think that the legend of their diabolical origin and hereditary curse was not a mere fairy tale, but the mythical expression of some political foresight or of a strong historical instinct. But in truth, no such theory is needed; the vices of kings, like those of other men, carry with them their present punishment; whilst with them, even more signally than with other men, the accumulation of subsequent misery is distinctly conspicuous, and is seen to fall with a weight more overwhelming the longer their strength or their position has kept it poised.

Curse on the race of Plantagenet.

It was not that their wickedness was of a monstrous kind; such wickedness indeed was not a prominent feature in the character of the mediæval devil; nor was

Their sins not tragic.

it mere capricious cruelty or wanton mischief. Neither were their misfortunes of the appalling sort wrought out by the Furies of Attic tragedy. Of such misery there were not wanting instances, but not enough to give more than an occasional luridness to the picture. Nor was it as in the case of the Stewarts, that the momentum of inherited misfortune and misery had become a conscious influence under which no knightly or kingly qualities could maintain hope, and a meaner nature sought a refuge in recklessness. All the Plantagenet kings were high-hearted men, rather rebellious against circumstances than subservient to them. But the long pageant shows us uniformly under so great a variety of individual character, such signs of great gifts and opportunities thrown away, such unscrupulousness in action, such uncontrolled passion, such vast energy and strength wasted on unworthy aims, such constant failure and final disappointment, in spite of constant successes and brilliant achievements, as remind us of the conduct and luck of those unhappy spirits who, throughout the middle ages, were continually spending superhuman strength in building in a night inaccessible bridges and uninhabitable castles, or purchasing with untold treasures souls that might have been had for nothing, and invariably cheated of their reward.

Common characteristics of the race.

Exceptions in the cases of Edward I. and Henry VI.

Only two in the whole list strike us as free from the hereditary sins; Edward I. and Henry VI., the noblest and the unhappiest of the race; and of these the former owes his real greatness in history, not to the success of his personal ambition, but to the brilliant qualities brought out by the exigencies of his affairs; whilst on the latter, both as a man and as a king, fell the heaviest crash of accumulated misery. None of the others seem to have had a wish to carry out the true grand conception of kingship. And thus it is with the extinction of the male line of Plantagenet that the social happiness of the English people begins. Even Henry VII., though, per-

haps, as selfish a man as any of his predecessors, and certainly less cared for or beloved, seems to open an era, during which the vices of the monarchs have been less disastrous to their subjects than before, and the prosperity of the state has increased in no proportion to the ability of the kings.

Varieties of individual character among the Plantagenets.

And yet no two of these princes were alike in the constituent proportions of their temperament. The leading feature of one was falsehood, of another cruelty, of another licentiousness, of another unscrupulous ambition: one was the slave of women, another of unworthy favourites, one a raiser of taxes, another a shedder of the blood of his people. Yet there was not one thoroughly contemptible person in the list. Many had redeeming qualities, some had great ones; all had a certain lion-like nobility, some had a portion of the real elements of greatness. Some were wise; all were brave; some were pure in life, some gentle as well as strong; but is it too hard to say that all were thoroughly selfish, all were in the main unfortunate?

Henry II. combined most of these.

In the character of Henry II. are found all the characteristics of his race. Not the greatest, nor the wisest, nor the worst, nor the most unfortunate, he still unites all these in their greatest relative proportions. Not so impetuous as Richard, or Edward III., or Henry V.; not so wise as Edward I.; not so luxurious[1] as John or Edward IV.; not so false as Henry III., nor so greedy as Henry IV., nor so cruel as the princes of the house of York; he was still eminently wise and brave, eminently cruel, lascivious, greedy, and false, and eminently unfortunate also, if the ruin of all the selfish aims of his sagacious plans, the disappointment of his affections, and the sense of having lost his soul for nothing, can be called misfortune.

[1] William of Newburgh compares him with his grandfather to the disadvantage of the latter: "In "libidinem pronior, conjugalem "modum excessit, formam quidem "in hoc tenens avitam, sed tamen "avo hujus intemperantiæ palmam "reliquit." Hist. Angl. iii. 26.

Apparent anomalies in the character of Henry II.

It would be a great mistake to view the personal and political character of Henry as one of unmingled vice. It was a strange compound of inconsistent qualities rather than a balance of opposing ones, yet the inconsistencies were so compounded as to make him restless rather than purposeless, and the opposing qualities were balanced sufficiently to suffer him to carry out a consistent policy. His fortunes, therefore, bear the impress of the man. He was a brave and consummate warrior, yet he never carried on war on a large scale, or hesitated to accept the first overtures of peace.[1] He was impetuous and unscrupulous, yet he never tempted fortune. He was violent in hatred, yet moderate in revenge;[2] a lover of good men, a corrupter of innocent women; at once religious and profane, lawless and scrupulous of right; a maker of good laws, and a seller of justice;[3] the most patient and provoking of husbands; the most indulgent and exacting of fathers; playing with the children, whose ingratitude was breaking his heart, the great game of statecraft as if they had been pawns. He was tyrannical in mood without being a tyrant either in principle or in the exigencies of policy. In power and character, by position and alliances, the arbiter of Western Europe in both war and peace,[4] he never waged a great war or enjoyed a sound peace; he never until his last year made an unsatisfactory peace or fought an unsuccessful battle. The most able and successful politician of his time, and thoroughly unscrupulous about using his power for his own ends, he yet died in a position less personally important than any that he had occupied during the thirty-five years of his reign, and, on the whole, less powerful

[1] "Pacis publicæ studiosissimus." W. Newb. iii. 26.

[2] "Inter ipsos triumphales eventus summam clementiam . . . conservavit." Gir. Camb. De Inst. Pr. ii. 3.

[3] "Justitiæ venditor et dilator." Giraldus, De Inst. Pr. ii. 3. Yet it was justice that he sold.

[4] It was no mere flattery when the author of the Dialogus de Scaccario called him "Rex illustris mundanorum principum maxime," p. 2 (ed. 1711).

Contrast between his personal and administrative successes.

than he began. Yet if we could distinguish between the man and the king, between personal selfishness and official or political statesmanship, between the ruin of his personal aims and the real success of his administrative conceptions, we might conclude by saying that altogether he was great and wise and successful.

Variety of judgments upon the character of Henry II. by the constitutionalist,

In so mixed a character it would be strange if partial judges could not find much to praise and much to blame. In the eyes of a friend the abilities of Henry excuse his vices, and the veriest experiments of political sagacity wear the aspect of inventions of profound philanthropic devotion. To the enemy the same measures are the transparent disguise of a crafty and greedy spirit anxious only for selfish aggrandizement. The constitutional historian cannot help looking with reverence on one under whose hand the foundations of liberty and national independence were so clearly marked and so deeply laid that in the course of one generation the fabric was safe for ever from tyrants or conquerors. The partizan of ecclesiastical immunities or monastic discipline can see in him only the apostate and the persecutor. The pure moralist inclines to scrutinize personal vices and to give too little credit to political merit. It is by such that the character of Henry has for the most part been written. Whilst we accept the particulars in which they agree, we may, without pretending to be free from prejudice, attempt to draw from our own survey of his acts a more probable theory of the man and of his work on the age and nation.

the ecclesiastic,

and the moralist.

His character as interpreted by history.

Interpreted by the history of his acts, the main purpose of Henry's life is clear. That was the consolidation of the kingly power in his own hands. Putting aside the disproportioned estimate of his ambition formed by contemporary writers, and encouraged perhaps by some careless or ostentatious words of his own,[1] we see in that

[1] " Solet quippe, quoniam ex " abundantia cordis os loquitur, " animosum pariter et ambitiosum " coram privatis suis nonnunquam

Ambition not his ruling passion; but rather the desire of consolidating his power.

purpose no very towering idea of conquest, or short-sighted appetite for tyranny. If ambition were ever really his ruling passion, it was one which he concealed so well that its definite object cannot be guessed, which at an early period of his reign he must have dismissed as impracticable, and which never led him to forego by precipitate ardour one of the advantages that might be secured by delay and moderation. He may have had such an aim, he may have thought of the empire,[1] or that the deliverance of Spain or Palestine was reserved for his arms; but that he really did so we have not the most shadowy evidence. We know that he was a powerful, unscrupulous man, a man of vast energy and industry, of great determination, the last man in the world to be charged with infirmity of purpose; but we also know that he knew mankind and had read history, and we see that as the actual results of his plans were of no immoderate dimensions, so also the details of his designs were carried out with a care and minuteness only credible on the supposition that they were ends in themselves. We need not suppose gratuitously that he intended to base on the foundation of consolidated power a fabric of conquest that would demand half a dozen lives to complete.

Such a theory as I have stated at once gives him a

" verbum emittere ' totum videlicet " ' mundum uni probo potentique " ' viro parum esse.' " Gir. Camb. De Inst. Prin. ii. 1.

[1] " Verum ad Romanorum imperium, occasione werræ diutinæ " et inexorabilis discordiæ inter imperatorem Fredericum et suos " obortæ, tam ab Italia tota quam " urbe Romulea sæpius invitatus, " comparata quidem sibi ad hoc " Morianæ vallis et Alpium via, " sed non efficaciter obtenta, animositate sua ambitum extendit." Gir. Camb. De Inst. Pr. ii. 1. This is a curious passage taken in connexion with the statement of Peter of Blois, Ep. 113. " Vidimus et " præsentes fuimus, ubi regnum " Palæstinæ, *regnum etiam Italiæ*, " patri vestro aut uni filiorum suorum, quem ad hoc eligeret ab " utriusque regni magnatibus et " populis est oblatum." A design of seizing Aix-la-Chapelle and the empire itself had been at one time ascribed to the Conqueror, in 1074. Lambert Hersf., ed. Pistorius, p. 377.

This great purpose not liable to be thwarted by his passions.

fitting aim for a moderate sensible ambition, and explains the relation between the influences of passion and policy by which he was actually swayed. His moral character, his self-will and self-indulgence, his licentious habits, his paroxysms of rage, his covetousness, faithlessness, and cruelty, did not come into any violent collision with his political schemes, or if they threatened to do so were kept (except perhaps in the single exception of the forest laws) in abeyance until the pressing necessity of policy was satisfied. That they were so restrained proves that this leading purpose is not to be regarded as imaginary. That they did sway him on almost every recorded occasion of his life in which they did not clash with his purpose is so certain as to prevent us from listening for a moment to any theory which would represent him as a beneficent, unselfish ruler. His ambition may not have been the one which his moral character and circumstances might lead us to expect; but to say this is merely to repeat that that character was rather a compound of inconsistent qualities than a balance of opposing forces.

Where this purpose did not interfere he was ruled very much by passion.

He cannot have wished to conquer France.

Take for example his relations with France, the conquest of which is the only conceivable and was the most feasible object of the ambition with which he may be credited. In such a purpose his passions and his unscrupulous policy would have run in the utmost harmony—pride, passion, revenge, the lust of dominion, the love of power. He hated Lewis the Seventh, he had every right to hate him, both as injurer and as injured. He was more or less at variance with him as long as he lived; he knew him to be weak and contemptible, and yet to be the source of all his own deepest unhappiness. At many periods of his reign Lewis and France lay at his mercy. The net of alliances was spread all around him. Italy, Spain, Flanders, were in close alliance with Henry. From 1168 to 1180 the position of Henry the Lion in Germany was such as must have prevented Lewis from looking for any help from the house of Hohenstaufen, even if he and

His ambition more moderate than that of Edward III. or Henry V.

the emperor had not been the champions of rival popes. If the king of England and ruler of half of France abstained from taking what a man of vulgar ambition would have taken, what Edward III. and Henry V. nearly succeeded in taking, we are not indeed to ignore other possible reasons for his forbearance, but the most probable reason is that he did not want it.

Possible reasons for restraining such ambition in the case of France.

Such possible reasons may be suggested, but for the most part they are much too weak to stand before a resolute passionate ambition, and the certainty that they must have occurred to so clear-headed a man as Henry tells that the ambition they served to restrain could not have been of such a nature, if it existed at all; but it is needless to speculate upon them. Unscrupulous as men were, the idea of unrighteous conquest from a Christian prince did not enter into the ordinary morality of the age. They fought for the settlement of quarrels, or for the decision of doubtful claims, or for rivalry, or for the love of war, but not for illegal conquest. In Henry's own wars this fact is clear, he never waged a war but on the ground of a legal claim. Further than this, his own feudal superstition, if it is not worthy of a higher name, with regard to the person of Lewis, was so strong as to exercise a visible restraint on his actual hatred. His political common sense might well have told him that the force which was enough to crush Lewis was not strong enough to hold France. The difficulties he experienced in ruling the dominions which he already possessed, and the variety of nationalities already crowded under one sceptre, were considerations that could not have escaped him, and they were just the considerations which, powerless before the lust of dominion, would commend themselves most forcibly to his characteristic caution.

Henry's external aims.

The real object of Henry's external ambition was the consolidation of his dominions. To effect this but a moderate extension was necessary. These dominions on

the continent were a long territory of varying breadth, the cohesion of which was of course weakest at its narrowest part. The reduction of Brittany from the condition of nominal to that of real dependence, and the extinction of any formidable power in Angoumois, la Marche, Saintonge, and Limousin, were necessary for the maintenance of the desired unity of estates. Second in importance was the enforcement of feudal claims over Toulouse and Auvergne, which might be more useful as independent allies than as unwilling vassals. The recovery of the Vexin and the establishment of Eleanor's rights over Berry gave a strength to the frontier and an apparent compactness to the mass; but these, like Brittany, Henry chose to secure by marriages rather than by arms; and in the same way the only considerable acquisition which he contemplated was attempted in the abortive proposal for the marriage of John with the heiress of Savoy and Maurienne.

The consolidation of his continental dominions.

In the pursuit of his object Henry went to work very much in the way in which a rich man in the eighteenth century created an estate and founded a family.[1] He was anxious to increase the mass of his inheritance and his local influence by advantageous marriages and judicious purchases. He was scarcely less anxious to extinguish copyholds and buy up small interloping freeholders. In the choice of his acquisitions, that stood first in his consideration which could be brought within a ring fence. If Henry II. occasionally had recourse to chicanery[2] and oppression, he has not wanted followers on both a large and a small scale whom his moderation even in these points might put to shame.

His procedure rather politic than openly aggressive.

The character of his insular acquisitions was determined on a similar principle. Wales, Ireland, and Scot-

His policy in the islands.

[1] For instance, his purchase of the county of La Marche in 1177. R. de Monte ad ann., and vol. i. p. 197. R. de Diceto, 600.

[2] "Omne jus poli jure fori demutavit. Scripta authentica omnium "enervavit." "Hæreditates retinuit "aut vendidit." R. Niger. 169.

The legal pretexts for aggression.

land were all desirable conquests, but no great cost should be spent on them. If internal divisions could be turned to profit, or if the scheme of aggression could be made available for the diversion of uneasy spirits from home, Henry was ready to take advantage of the circumstances, but would not waste much treasure or many men. In each of these cases he had a legal claim; to Ireland by the gift of pope Adrian IV.; to Scotland and Wales by his inheritance of the ancient supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon kings, and the simple application of feudal principles to that inheritance. The case with regard to Ireland was even stronger, if we consider him as succeeding to the like ancient claim to supremacy, and as at once the nominee of the sovereign of all islands[1] and the invited arbiter of domestic quarrels. Yet according to Robert de Monte, the original design upon Ireland was formed for the purpose of finding a kingdom for William Longespee of Anjou, and the final conquest was carried out in order to provide a suitable settlement for John.[2] William the Lion and David of North Wales were reconciled by a royal or quasi-royal marriage.[3] Galloway was not attacked until a like bond had proved too slight or too frail to hold it.

Henry's division of his dominions among his sons was

[1] See the Bull "Laudabiliter," Gir. Camb. De Inst. Pr. ii. 19. "Sane Hiberniam et omnes insulas "quibus sol justitiæ Christus illuxit, "... ad jus beati Petri et sacro-"sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ ... "non est dubium pertinere." By a misinterpretation of the forged donation of Constantine.

[2] Ad. an. 1155. "Circa festum "Sancti Michaelis Henricus rex "Anglorum habito concilio apud "Wincestrum de conquirendo regno "Hiberniæ et Guillelmo fratri suo "dando, cum optimatibus suis trac-"tavit. Quod quia matri ejus im-"peratrici non placuit intermissa "est ad tempus illa expeditio." Cf. Cont. Anselm of Gemblours ad 1156: "Exercitum ... quem pro-"posuerat ducere in Hiberniam ut "eam suo dominio subjugaret et "fratremque suum concilio episco-"porum et religiosorum virorum "illi insulæ regem constitueret." See also Alberic of Trois Fontaines, ad 1156, ed. Leibnitz, p. 329.

[3] Emma, the bastard daughter of Geoffrey Plantagenet, was married to David, prince of North Wales, in 1174. R. de Diceto, 585.

a measure which, as his own age did not understand it, later ones may be excused for mistaking; but the object of it was, as may be inferred from his own recorded words, to strengthen and equalize the pressure of the ruling hand in different provinces of various laws and nationalities.[1] The sons were to be the substitutes, not the successors of their father; the eldest as the accepted or elected sharer of the royal name, as feudal superior to his brothers, and first in the royal councils, stood in the same relation to his father as the king of the Romans to the emperor; he might rule with a full delegated power, or perhaps with inchoate independence, but the father's hand was to guide the helm of state. Unhappily the young brood of the eagle of the broken covenant were the worst possible instruments for the working of a large and complex policy; the last creatures in the world to be made useful in carrying on a form of government which the experience of all ages has tried and found wanting.

His distribution of his dominions, how to be explained.

Yet how grand a scheme of western confederation might be deduced from the consideration of the position of Henry's children, how great a dream of conquest may after all have been broken by the machinations of Lewis and Eleanor! What might not a crusade have effected headed by Henry II., with his valiant sons, the first warriors of the age, with his sons-in-law Henry the Lion, William of Sicily, and Alfonso of Castile; with Philip of France, the brother-in-law of his sons, Frederick Barbarossa, his distant kinsman and close ally, the princes of Champagne and Flanders, his cousins? In it the grand majestic chivalry of the emperor, the wealth of Sicily, the hardy valour and practical skill of Spain, the hereditary crusading ardour of the land of Godfrey of Bouillon and Stephen of Blois, the statesmanlike vigour

His grand position in Europe.

[1] "Addens etiam in illo mandato "quod quando ipse solus erat in "regimine regni nihil de jure amit- "tebat, et modo dedecus esset cum "sint plures in regenda terra ali- "quid inde perdere." See below, i. 130.

What a crusade he might have led.

and simple piety of the great Saxon hero, under the guidance of the craft and sagacity, the mingled impetuosity and caution of Henry II., might have presented Europe to Asia in a guise which she has never yet assumed. Yet all the splendour of the family confederation, all the close-woven widespread web that fortune and sagacity had joined to weave, end in the cruel desertion, the baffled rage, the futile curses of the chained leopard in the last scene at Chinon. The lawful sons, the offspring, the victims, and the avengers of a heartless policy,[1] the loveless children of a loveless mother, have left the last duties of an affection they did not feel to the hands of a bastard, the child of an early, obscure, misplaced, degrading, but not a mercenary love.

His home policy determined by the same ruling principle.

The same idea of consolidating the kingly power is apparent in the legal and social measures of Henry II. His position was in these respects, indeed, more fortunate than in his foreign relations. He had not here to originate a policy which was to unite heterogeneous provinces, but inherited the experience of a century, the able ministers of his grandfather, and the plans which had been initiated in the reigns of William the Conqueror and William Rufus. But it certainly is not in the power of an ordinary administrator to adapt and develop the ideas of others, and embody them in a policy of his own. What credit Henry loses for originality he more than recovers when we consider the energy, skill, and industry with which he pursued his main object.

The exact aim of this policy.

The bent of his internal policy may be described as the substitution of the king's government for the state of things which had prevailed more or less ever since the conquest, which was partly coeval with the existence of the Norman race, partly owing to the incrustation of feudal institutions; against which the conqueror had

[1] See Giraldus Camb. De Inst. Pr. ii. 3; and William of Newburgh iii. 26.

had to struggle, which William Rufus had to repress by the strong hand, which Henry I. by dint of time and skill had but in a degree weakened, and which had regained in the anarchy of Stephen's reign all the power that it had lost under his predecessor.

The creation of a strong central government.

The idea of a kingly government administered by the king's servants, in which the action of the feudal nobility where it existed was simply ministerial, and was not, so far as the executive was concerned, even necessary to the maintenance of the plan, was the true remedy for the evils of anarchy inherent in the Norman state. Such a system could not be devised by a weak or ambitious head, or worked by feeble or indolent hands. Nor could it be brought to maturity or to easy action in one man's lifetime. The elements of discord were not extinguished in Henry's reign; they broke out whenever any other trouble distracted the king's energy or divided his power. Still he was in the main successful, and left to his successors the germ of a uniform administration of justice and system of revenue. His ministers, who at the beginning of his reign were little more than officers of his household, at the end of it were the administrators of the country.[1] The position of England in the affairs of Europe was, from this time, owing not to the foreign possessions of the sovereign, but to the compactness of her organization, and the facility with which the national strength and resources could be handled.

The government to be by the king and his ministers eliminating the feudal element.

It does not matter much whether we consider the

[1] This great extension of the power and importance of the king's ministers during the reign has frequently been remarked in the case of the chancellor. Yet the difference of the position of Henry I.'s chancellors as compared with that of Becket and Longchamp is trifling compared with the position of the marshal at the beginning and ending of Henry II.'s reign. With regard to the lay official, the contrast is more significant, because the aggrandizement is personal rather than official. The constable, on the other hand, seems to have retained some of the prestige of the position of the Stallere from earlier times.

Character of the details of Henry's system of government: philosophical or experimental? several measures of Henry's administrative reforms as parts of a matured definite scheme, or as the expedients and experiments of an adroit manager. The more carefully we study the remaining monuments of the earlier reigns, or the character of Henry's ministers, the more we may be convinced that his genius was rather adaptive and digestive than originative. When on the other hand we examine the actual results of his reforms as exemplified in the succeeding reigns, the more certainly we see the difference between the earlier fragmentary attempts at legislation and the definite system which Henry left behind him; but on any view the industry, energy, and readiness of his working were qualities of the man himself.

Two opposite views of his character drawn from the examination of his system. (1) Was he a tyrant? It is obvious that Henry's great design as well as the subordinate parts of it may, taken apart from the general tenour of his character, be read in two ways, or rather that two opposing views of his character may be drawn from the bare consideration of his objects and measures. It may seem that he wished to create a tyranny, to overthrow every vestige of independence among the clergy and nobles, and to provide himself from the proceeds of taxation with means of carrying out personal selfish designs. He might be a man who could endure no opposition, and to whom it was enough to make a thing intolerable that it should be originated by any other than himself. Such a reading would explain much of his avarice, cruelty, and greediness in acquiring territory.

(2) Was he a benefactor? Or it might be argued that as so many of his schemes did actually result in the amelioration of the condition of his subjects, as his judicial reforms were the basis on which the next generation was enabled to raise the earlier stages of civil liberty; and as his ecclesiastical measures have in nearly every particular been sanctioned or (3) a far-sighted statesman? and adopted by the practice of later ages, he is therefore entitled to the praise of a well-intentioned, benevolent ruler, as well as to the credit of a far-sighted statesman.

Both of these views have been advocated, the first by some of his contemporaries, and those who in later times have approached the history from their point of prejudice; the latter by those who, both anciently and recently, have been inclined to look with too professional an eye on the character of his reforms. I have stated already that I think neither of them tenable; and as it is at present Henry's personal character that is before me, I will give the reasons. None of these views tenable.

As to the first theory, which, in the mouths of his contemporaries, seems so condemnatory, it must be said that gratuitous baseness was no part of Henry's character, if we may judge by his actions. He was thoroughly unscrupulous and unprincipled, but he was not a tyrant; he was not wantonly cruel or oppressive. His crimes against public law and order, such as they were, were not purposeless, nor is it in any way necessary to suppose that he had that intolerance of all opposition which pursues tyranny for its own sake. He had definite aims, and followed them unrelentingly; whatever could be made to minister to their furtherance was forced to its use. As his passions gave way to his policy, so the minor measures of his policy were sometimes compelled to give way to the occasional exigencies of his great design. But where there was no definite object, he was not a tyrant. (1) Neither in policy nor in character was he a despot.

The theory that he was a benevolent governor or a far-sighted statesman is not supported, either by the apparent purpose of his reforms, or by their actual result. It requires no particular benevolence to teach a king that his subjects are more contented when justice is fairly administered than when violence reigns unrepressed; and that where they are contented, they are more likely to be industrious, and more able to pay taxes; that where they have more at stake, they are more ready to make sacrifices to purchase security; but this is no lesson of far-sighted statesmanship, for it is the simplest (2) He was too entirely selfish to be called a benefactor.

Uniform selfishness of Henry II.

principle of the art of government. If there were any sign of benevolence, any glimpse of the love of his people apparent in his actions, he ought by all means to have the credit of it; if there were any such general tone in his private life it might be allowed to give the key of interpretation of his public life, and a harmony to his whole character. But his life was violent and lawless; his personal design, wherever it clashed with his established measures, set them at once aside.

He was a statesman, not a theorist; and cannot claim credit for far-sightedness.

Again, such parts of his system as have been approved by the voice of late posterity, such as, especially the restrictions on papal power and on ecclesiastical immunities, are capable of very simple discussion. There is no need to enter into a question of the personal merit of S. Thomas of Canterbury, or of the exact point for which he held out, and for which, in fact, he perished. We may respect the stout-heartedness of the prelate without approving his cause, or we may approve his cause without shutting our eyes to the violent and worldly spirit in which he conducted it; but when we find that in this cause all the piety and wisdom of three centuries saw the championship of Divine truth and justice against secular usurpation, we are not surely wrong in supposing that the constitutions of Clarendon were dated three centuries too soon. Was Henry really three centuries before his age? If the answer is affirmative, we deny his character as a statesman, and reduce him to a theorist. In truth, it was as ancient customs that he wished to restore them, not to force them as innovations. His mistake was not that he anticipated the age of the reformation, but that he neglected to consider that such was the rapid progress of papal assumption, and its acceptance,

[1] "Avitas consuetudines." Gerv. 1385. "Leges avi mei Henrici "regis recordatæ et conscriptæ "publice coram omnibus recitentur "ne novum aliquid tradidisse quis- "quam nobis præsumat imponere." Grim. S. T. C. i. 31.

both in England and on the continent, since the age of Hildebrand, that his "ancestral rights" were really left high and dry behind the advancing flood which he vainly thought to stem. The policy to which feudal antiquity had been forced to yield was really powerless against the increasing tide of ecclesiastical authority. The point which eluded the sagacity of Henry was identical with that which the conqueror himself had overlooked when he established ecclesiastical courts to take cognizance of the secular offences of the clergy. Both saw the impossibility of reconciling royal supremacy with the claims of feudal antiquity; but in ecclesiastical matters William yielded to, or perhaps helped on, the first trickling of the stream which Henry had to withstand in its full force. It was as necessary to William to strengthen as it was to Henry to weaken the power of the clergy. Henry should not have expected to find in Becket one who would at once fill the seat and reverse the measures of Lanfranc.

The difference of his success against feudal and against ecclesiastical usurpation respectively.

In his secular and ecclesiastical reforms alike, he had an object to gain, which demanded unusual measures; and he, without scruple and without remorse, tried to enforce them by all means, fair and foul. If he was not a mere tyrant, he was a man who was never deterred by any considerations but those of expediency from trying to win his game.

Though not a tyrant, he would have been if it had been necessary.

It seems, then, that there is a third and a truer reading of this eventful life, one which makes no demand on our credulity like the second, and which requires no harsh construction of simple actions like the first. Henry wished to create, at home and abroad, a strong government. In this itself there was nothing deserving the name of tyrannical; at the worst it was less of a tyranny than that which had been in use in the three Norman reigns, and had been exercised on both sides in the contests of that of Stephen. As governments were in those days, any might be accounted good which was conducted

The desire to create a strong government no proof of tyrannical designs, or of a despotic spirit.

Constitutional government still in embryo.

on the principle of law, not on caprice. The notions of constitutional sovereignty and liberty were still locked up in the libraries, or in embryo in the brains of the clergy.

His bad points brought out by opposition.

Such a theory makes Henry neither an angel nor a devil. He was a man of strong nature; strong will, strong affections, and strong passions. His ambition was not a wanton one. He began his reign without any temptation to be oppressive; but from the beginning we can read his purpose of being master in his own house. The humbling of the barons was no hard task; the initiation of law and order was an easy consequence; but the attempt to apply the principles of law and order to the clergy, in a way that was not sanctioned by the public opinion of his day, and which made his ablest counsellor his most inveterate foe, brought up an opposition which called into play all the violence of his nature. It was not that his character changed, but that circumstances brought out what was in him in a stronger light. After Becket's death, the circumstances became even stronger still, and brought out in a still stronger light the same characteristics.

Actual results of Becket's murder.

By that most disastrous event all the elements of opposition were restored to life. Lewis had now a cause which, to his weak and wicked conscience, justified all the meanness and falsehood that he could use against his rival. The clergy dared not side with the king in such a quarrel. The barons took immediate advantage of the general disaffection. The king's sons lighted the flames of war. Not, I think, that there is any evidence to show that the death of S. Thomas was actually or nominally the pretext for revolt; but it was a breaking up of the restraints which had so far been effectual; and all who had grievances were ready and able to take advantage of the shock.

Under the circumstances, Henry did not show himself a hero, but he behaved as a moderate and politic con-

Henry's policy weighed more with him than his desire of revenge.

queror. It was not revenge, but the restoration of the strength of his government that he desired. He did not break off his plans of reform: year after year saw some wise change introduced into the legal or military administration; and practically he managed the church without any glaring scandal. He ruled for himself, not for his people; but he did not rule cruelly or despotically. His character contained much that was tyrannical, but his policy was not such as to curse him with the name of tyrant.[1]

What credit is due to him?

Is Henry, then, to have no credit for his sagacious measures? Yes; the credit due to a man who, having come to his crown with a power limited by circumstances rather than by law, and having overcome those circumstances, has chosen to sacrifice somewhat of the licence of despotism for the safety of order; has chosen to place his power on the basis of public security and common justice.[2] Such merit was his, although, doubtless, the love of power was stronger in him than the love of order. His wisdom was not less wisdom because it was the wisdom of a selfish man.

Can the portraits drawn of him by his contemporaries be harmonized?

In the elaborate descriptions of Henry II., which are given by Peter of Blois, Giraldus Cambrensis, and Ralph Niger, we cannot doubt that we have the accurate delineation of the man as he appeared through the different mediums of liking and dislike. The main lines of the portraits are the same, though they are seen as it were through variously-coloured glass. They are well-marked and defined, as we might expect in the most superficial view of such a man. But although well-

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[1] R. de Dic. 578.

[2] "Illustris Anglorum rex Henricus hoc nomine participantium "regum secundus dictus est, sed "nulli modernorum fuisse creditur "in rebus componendis animi virtute secundus: ab ipso enim suæ "dominationis exordio totum in "hoc direxit animum ut paci rebellantes et dyscolos multiplici subversione contereret, et pacis ac "fidei bonum in cordibus hominum "modis omnibus consignaret." Dial. de Scacc. p. 38.

He does not look like a hero.

marked and strongly defined, they do not combine, even under the hand of a professed panegyrist, into the outlines of a hero.

Abstract of the characters given by contemporaries.

We see a hard-headed, industrious, cautious,[1] subtle,[2] restless man; fixed in purpose, versatile in expedients; wonderfully rapid in execution; great in organizing, without being himself methodical; one who will always try to bind others, whilst leaving himself free;[3] who never prefers good faith to policy or appearances to realities; who trusts rather to time and circumstances than to the goodwill of others; by inclination parsimonious and retiring, but on occasion lavish and magnificent; liberal in almsgiving,[4] splendid in building,[5] but not giving alms without an ulterior object, nor spending money on buildings, except where he can get his money's worth. As with treasure so with men, he was neither extravagant nor sparing; rather economical than hu-

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[1] "Omnia prius quam arma per-"tentans." Gir. Camb. "Mar-"tios congressus quoad potuit sem-"per evitans." Ib. iii. 24.

[2] His dissimulation is a great point with Becket. S. T. C. iii. 63, 140, 225. No one who ever had anything to do with him escaped his mousetraps (muscipulas). Epp. Cant. 260. Tendiculas, S. T. C. iii. 302. He was a complete Proteus. S. T. C. iii. 302.

[3] "Naturali quadam inconstantia, "verbi plerumque spontaneus trans-"gressor: nam quoties res in arc-"tum devenerat, de dicto maleus "quam de facto pœnitere, verbum-"que facilius quam factum irritum "habere." Gir. Camb.

[4] "Incomparabilis eleemosyna-"rum largitor et præcipuus terræ "Palestinæ sustentator." Gir. Camb. Cf. Dial. de Scacc. p. 2. See his will in Giraldus, De Inst. Pr. ii. 17; also Ralph de Diceto, 613; Gervase, 1459.

The orders of Grammont and Fontevraud were his favourites, as the Cluniac was of Henry I. and the Cistercian of Richard I. The monks of Fontevraud registered him in their obituary as "secundus probi-"tate Alexander, alter Salomon "scientia." Note on Ralph of Coggeshall in Bouquet.

[5] "Ad pacem populi spectat im-"mensitas illa pecuniarum quam "donat, quam recipit, quam con-"gregat, quam dispergit. In muris, "in propugnaculis, in munitionibus, "in fossatis, in clausuris ferarum "et piscium, et in palatiorum ædi-"ficiis, nullus subtilior, nullus mag-"nificentior invenitur." P. Bles. See especially the list of his buildings in R. de Monte, 896, ad ann. 1161.

mane; pitiful after the slaughter of battle, but not chary of human life where it could be spent with effect.[1]

Abstract of the characters given by contemporaries.

He had the one weakness of great minds, without which no man ever reached greatness; never to be satisfied without doing or taking part himself in everything that was to be done;[2] and he had not what may be called the strength of little minds, inability to see good in what he did not himself devise.

He was eloquent, affable, polite, jocose;[3] so persuasive in address that few could resist the charm of his manner. He had the royal prerogative of never forgetting names and faces;[4] he loved to encourage the retiring, and to repel the presuming.[5] He was a most excellent and bountiful master.[6] He was very faithful, both in friendships and enmities, where they did not interfere with his policy.[7]

He was not without elegant tastes;[8] he loved the

[1] "Amissos in acie plus principe "plangens et humanior exstructo "militi quam superstiti, longeque "majori dolore mortuos lugens "quam vivos amore demulcens." Gir. Camb.

[2] Even Richard I., like Napoleon Bonaparte, complained that he could not be everywhere, "Nemo potest "esse ubique." Itin. R. R. p. 267. R. de Diceto, 560. "Per pro-"vincias currens explorat facta "omnium, illos potissimum judi-"cans quos constituit judices alio-"rum." Pet. Bles.

[3] Nemo est argutior in consiliis, "in eloquio torrentior." "Nullus "rege nostro honestior est in lo-"quendo, in comedendo urbanior, "moderatior in bibendo." P. Bles. "Princeps eloquentissimus. . . . "Vir affabilis, vir flexibilis et fa-"cetus."

[4] "Quemcunque vel semel in "facie attentius inspexerat, quan-"quam in tanta quotidie multitudine "constitutus nunquam amplius ig-"notum habebat." Gir. Camb.

[5] "Nullus mansuetior est afflictis, "nullus affabilior pauperibus; nul-"lus importabilior est superbis . . . "studuit opprimere fastuosos, op-"pressos erigere." Pet. Bles.

[6] "In augendis dignitatibus sibi "militantium semper aspirat." Dialogus de Scaccario, p. 30.

[7] "Quem semel dilexit vix de-"diligit; quem vero semel exosum "habuit vix in gratiam familiari-"tatis admittit." Pet. Bles. "Quem "semel exosum habuerat, vix in "amorem, quem semel amaverat "vix in odium revocabat." Gir. Camb.

[8] "Quoties enim potest a curis et "sollicitudinibus respirare, secreta "se occupat lectione, aut in cuneo "clericorum aliquem nodum quæs-

His taste for history.

reading of history, delighted in the conversation of acute and learned men like his uncles the kings of Jerusalem, and his sons-in-law William of Sicily and Henry of Saxony. He had a wonderful memory,[1] well stored with the lessons of past times, and with the experiences of constant journeys, on which he was careful to see everything that was to be seen.

His religiousness.

He had little regard for more than the merest forms of religion;[2] like Napoleon Bonaparte, he heard mass daily, but without paying decent attention to the ceremony. During the most solemn part of the service he was whispering to his courtiers, or scribbling, or looking at pictures.[3] His vows to God he seems to have thought might be evaded as easily as his covenants with men; his undertaking to go on crusade was commuted for money payments, and his promised religious foundations were carried out at the expense of others.[4] His regard to personal morality was of much the same value and extent. He was at no period of his life a faithful hus-

His morals.

"tionis laborat evolvere: Nam "cum rex vester bene (*i.e.* William "of Sicily) litteras noverit, rex "noster longe litteratior est. . . . "Verum tamen apud regem Anglo-"rum quotidiana ejus schola est, "litteratissimorum conversatio "jugis, et discussio quæstionum." P. Bles. "Quod his temporibus "conspicuum est, litteris eruditus. ". . . Historiarum omnium fere "promptam notitiam et cunctarum "rerum experientiam propemodum "ad manum habebat."

[1] "Quicquid aliquando memoria "dignum audierat nunquam a mente "decidere poterat." Gir. Camb.

[2] He was occasionally, like John, violently blasphemous. See Gir. Camb. de Inst. Pr. iii. 11. He neglected confession, Ib. iii. 13.

[3] This may be a libel of Ralph Niger, but it is graphic enough to be true; "Oratorium ingressus, "picturæ aut susurro vacabat," p. 169. Giraldus says the same, "Sa-"cræ vix horam hostiæ mittendæ "divinis accommodans, et id ipsum "temporis, ob regni forte negotia "tanta reique publicæ causa, plus "consiliis et sermone quam devo-"tione consumens."

[4] Ralph Niger's account of this is very characteristic: "Juratus se "tria monasteria constructurum, "duos ordines transvertit, personas "de loco ad locum transferens, me-"retrices alias aliis, Cenomannicas "Anglicis substituens." This of course refers to the Amesbury transaction. The Waltham one was of much the same kind. Giraldus also is severe on this very shabby business, and is unable to say what

band; and when he had finally quarreled with Eleanor he sank into sad depths of licentiousness.[1]

His tempe

He was an able, plausible, astute, cautious, unprincipled man of business. His temper was violent, and he was probably subject to the outrageous paroxysms of passion which are attributed to his Norman ancestors, and which, if they have not been exaggerated by the historians, must have been fearful proofs of a profane and cruel disposition, on which discipline had imposed no restraints.[2]

Abstract of the contemporary accounts of his appearance.

His personal appearance did not approach the heroic. He was slightly above the middle height,[3] square and substantial, with a decided tendency to corpulence.[4] His head was round, and well proportioned;[5] his hair approaching to red, sprinkled in his later years with white, but always kept very short as a precaution against baldness.[6] His face is described by one authority as

the third monastery was by the construction of which his vow was fulfilled, unless it were the Charterhouse at Witham. De Inst. Pr. ii. 7.

[1] Ralph Niger says that he imprisoned Eleanor that she might not interfere with his amours (p. 168). He says also of him, "Corruptor "pudicitiæ et avum sequens in flagitiis, primo in sponsas, post in "filias procerum illecebras exer"cens." Giraldus says that after Eleanor's imprisonment, "qui adul"ter antea fuerat occultus, effectus "postea manifestus, non mundi qui"dem rosa, juxta falsam et frivolam "nominis impositionem sed im"mundi verius rosa vocata, palam "et impudentius abutendo;" a statement which settles two traditionary statements about Rosamond, namely, that she was the mother of Geoffrey who was born about 1158, and that she was put out of the way by Eleanor. Walter de Mapes says that Geoffrey's mother was a low woman, named Ykenay.

[2] Cf. S. T. C. iv. 260.

[3] "Statura ejus mediocris est, ut "et inter parvos magnus appareat, "nec inter majores minimus vide"atur." Pet. Bles. ep. 66. Henry and Richard were taller than their father, John and Geoffrey shorter. Gir. Camb. ii. 29.

[4] "Corpore carnoso . . . ventre "peramplo." Giraldus Camb.

[5] "Amplo capite et rotundo." Gir. Camb. "Caput ejus sphæri"cum," "ut collo et toti corpori "proportionali moderatione respon"deat." Pet. Bles.

[6] "Subrufus." Gir. Camb. "Sub"rufum . . . . nisi quia colorem "hunc venerabilis senectus et su"perveniens canities aliquantulum "alteravit." Pet. Bles. "Cæsaries "ejus damna calvitiei non veretur, "superveniente tamen artificii ca"pillorum tonsura." Ibid.

His face and figure.

fiery,[1] by another as lion-like. His eyes were grey, and full of expression, but rather prominent, and occasionally bloodshot.[2] His nose was well-formed, and denoted no more pride or fastidiousnes than was becoming to a king.[3]

He had a short bull neck,[4] a broad square chest,[5] the arms of a boxer,[6] and the legs of a horseman[7] (the author does not say whether of a groom or of a cavalier). His feet were highly arched,[8] but his hands were clumsy and coarse.[9]

His personal habits.

He paid very little attention to dress,[10] and never wore gloves but when he went hawking. He took a great deal of exercise, being both restless by habit and anxious to keep down his tendency to fat. He was a great hunter and hawker;[11] he never sat except at meals or on horseback.[12] He transacted all business standing, greatly to the detriment of his legs. He was very moderate in both meat and drink,[13] cared very little for appearances,

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1 "Facie ignea." Gir. Camb. "Leonina facies quasi in quadran- "gulum se dilatat." Pet. Bles.

2 "Oculis glaucis, ad iram torvis "et rubore suffusis." Gir. Camb. "Oculi ejus orbiculati sunt; dum "pacati est animi columbini et sim- "plices, sed in ira et turbatione "cordis quasi scintillantes ignem "et in impetu fulminantes." Pet. Bles.

3 Pet. Bles.

4 "Collo ab humeris aliquantulum "demisso." Gir. Camb.

5 "Pectore quadrato." Gir. Camb. "Thorax extensior." Pet. Bles.

6 Brachiis validis." Gir. Camb. "Lacerti pugiles." Pet. Bles.

7 "Equestres tibiæ." Pet. Bles.

8 "Arcuati pedes." Pet. Bles.

9 "Manus ejus quadam grossitie "sua hominis incuriam protestan- "tur; earum enim cultum prorsus "negligit, nec unquam nisi aves "deferat utitur chirothecis." Pet. Bles.

10 "Ocreis sine plica, pileis sine "fastu et vestibus utitur expeditis." Pet. Bles.

11 "Semper in manibus ejus sunt "arcus, enses, venabula, sagittæ." Pet. Bles.

12 "Semper a mane usque ad ves- "peram stat in pedes, et licet tibias "habeat frequenti percussione cal- "citrantium equorum enormiter "vulneratas et lividas nisi tamen "equitet vel comedat, nunquam "sedet." Pet. Bles. So also Gir. Camb. "Cum tibiarum pedumque "tumore frequenti . . . cæteras id "ipsum corporis incommoditates "accelerabat."

13 "Caro siquidem ejus se mole "pinguedinis enormiter onerasset, "nisi quia ventris insolentiam jeju- "niis et exercitio domat." Pet.

loved order in others without observing it himself; he was a good and kind master, who chose his servants well, but neither trusted them too much, nor ever forgave their neglect of his interests.

General impression derived from these.

The picture is not a pleasant one; in spite of his refined tastes and his polite address he must have looked generally like a rough, passionate, uneasy man. But his frame, thought not elegant, was very serviceable, qualified him for great exertion, and was proof against privation or fatigue. He was an adroit and formidable man at arms, but there was little at first sight to denote either the courteous knight or the skilful general, or the self-possessed intriguer, or the ingenious organizer, or the versatile administrator, or the profound politician.

Importance of his position in English history.

But if the character of Henry contained none of the elements of real greatness, if the leading principle of it was one which is actually incompatible with the highest degree of excellence in a ruler, the position of the nation he governed was such, and the influence exercised upon it by his character and the events of his reign was so salutary, as to make him one of the most conspicuous actors in the drama of English history. He was a link in the chain of great men by whom, through good and evil, the English nation was drawn on to constitutional government. He was the man the time required. It was a critical time, and his actions and policy determined the crisis in a favourable way. He stands with Alfred, Canute, William the Conqueror, and Edward I., one of the conscious creators of English greatness.

His reign was the period of amalgamation,[1] the union

Bles. "Erat enim cibo potuque "modestus ac sobrius. . . . Pacis "quoque tempore sibi nec pacem "ullam nec requiem indulgebat; "venationi enim trans modestiam "deditus, summo diluculo equo "cursore transvectus, nunc saltus "lustrans, nunc montium juga "transcendens dies ducebat inquietos; vespere vero domum receptum, vel ante cœnam vel post, "rarissime sedentem conspexeris."

[1] "Jam cohabitantibus Anglicis "et Normannis et alterutrum ux-

Period of amalgamation.

of the different elements existing in the country, which, whether it be looked on as chemical or mechanical, produced the national character and the national institutions.

Possible speculation on national character.

If there is really such a thing as national character, we may speculate thus. The Anglo-Saxon temperament had run to seed in the age preceding the conquest. The efforts of Canute, directed to the thorough union of the Danish with the Anglo-Saxon population, had ended as such efforts generally do, in the assimilation of the smaller to the larger constituent in the union of the kindred races. The Danish provinces had become before the conquest scarcely distinguishable from the Anglo-Saxon, as far as concerned national feeling, and the more important questions of law and manners. What differences yet remained served to intensify the weakness which was inherent in the character of the mass.

Self-reliance, the character produced by Anglo-Saxon institutions.

The tendency of all the Anglo-Saxon institutions was to produce a spirit of self-dependence; that was the strength of the system. Its weakness was the want of cohesion, which is a necessary condition of particles incapable of self-restraint in the absence of any external force to compress them. The power of combination was not indeed wanting, but it was exercised only in very small aggregations, for very small purposes, and those private rather than national. The allodial system left the owner of land dependent on no earthly lord. The principle of combination in gilds and tithings, which to a certain extent was voluntary, on the one hand, and the system of commendation, which was entirely so, on the other, supplied a very indifferent means of national union. The unity of the tithing was far closer than that

" ores ducentibus vel nubentibus, " sic permixtæ sunt nationes ut vix " discerni possit hodie, de liberis " loquor, quis Anglicus, quis Nor- " mannus sit genere; exceptis dun- " taxat ascriptitiis qui villani dicun- " tur, quibus non est liberum ob- " stantibus dominis suis a sui status " conditione discedere." Dialogus, &c., p. 26.

of the hundred; that of the hundred than that of the county; that of the county, or of the district governed by the same law, was far stronger than that of the kingdom. Self-reliance in great and small alike, without self-restraint, without the power of combination, with a national pride and yet no national spirit, laid England an easy though unwilling prey at the feet of the Conqueror. Hating to submit, it was yet unable to unite except in the same small clusters in which throughout its early history the nation had exhausted its power of cohesion; hence the special character of the struggles which occupied the early years of William's reign.

Self-reliance carried to an extreme, ends in the loss of the power of cohesion.

For such a condition the feudal system was undoubtedly the fitting cure. There is much truth, though only half the truth, in Mr. Carlyle's observation that the pot-bellied equanimity of the Anglo-Saxon needed the drilling and discipline of a century of Norman tyranny. The grinding process by which the machinery of feudalism forced into a common mass all the different interests, desires, and habits of the disunited race was, however, only one part of its operation. The feudal system was very far from being altogether bad. Like the Holy Alliance, it would have been a very excellent device if it could have been administered by angels; and all Norman nobles were by no means such men as William Rufus or Robert of Bellesme. The essence of the system was mutual fidelity, and its proper consequence the creation of a corporate unity, and the recognition of it by every member from the king to the villein. The bond was not a voluntary one, to be taken up and put aside at pleasure; the principle of cohesion was uniform throughout the mass. If then on the one hand the maladministration of the system forced the different constituents of the nation into a physical union of interests, the essential character, which no maladministration could neutralize, supplied the very elements which were wanting for moral strength. Self-reliance was proved not to be in-

The feudal system helped to restore this power (1) by its bad administration, and (2) by its inherent soundness of principle.

compatible with order, mutual faith, and regard to law; and these are indispensable for national strength and national spirit.

The pressure of feudal discipline was temporary only.

It was not, however, necessary that the pressure of this discipline should be perpetual; it was enough that the lesson should be learned, and the rod might be cast aside; but very much must depend on the treatment applied at the moment. Had the crucible been taken from the furnace too soon the elements would never have combined; if it had been kept there too long the fusion would have ended in an explosion, or in the formation of an insensate, unductile mass. The reign of Henry II. was the time of the crisis, and the hands by which the happy moment was seized were his own and those of his ministers. If Henry had been a better man his work would have been second to that of no character in history; had he been a weaker one than he was, England might have had to undergo for six hundred years the fate of France.

Henry's reign a critical one.

National character in relation to national institutions.

Such a speculation may be a mere flight of fancy, but it accords in its main features with the facts of history, and if there be such a thing as national character it must be closely connected with national institutions. In one state of society they grow out of it; in another it is fashioned by them until it seems to grow out of them: they develop together in a free state, in a subject one they affect one another by assimilation or opposition according to the nature and duration of the pressure.

Fusion of Anglo-Saxon and Norman elements.

What is merely a probable speculation at the best, in regard of character, is, however, a true story applied to institutions. The Anglo-Saxon and the Norman institutions had been actually in a state of fusion since the conquest, and the reign of Henry gave to the united systems the character which has developed into the English constitution. It destroyed the undue preponderance of one power in the State over the others; it secured the firm position of the central force, and it opened the way for

the growth of wealth in social security; it prevented England from falling under a military monarchy, or into a feudal anarchy; it so balanced the forces existing in the State as to give to each its opportunity of legitimate development. Magna Charta could never have been won by lawless barons for a crushed and spiritless nation, nor would the people when they learned their strength have satisfied themselves with the moderate aims that contented the heroes of the thirteenth century, had they been left too early without restraint, or been kept under prolonged oppression. The Angevin kings, the Norman nobles, the English churls, the Roman clergy, become in one century the English people.

Henry's reign in regard to the amalgamation.

The reign of Henry II. saw the end of feudalism, so far as it had ever prevailed in England, as a system of government; the executive power was taken altogether out of its hands; the military strength of it was subordinated to the general aims of government; the legislative capacities of the system were held in formal existence, but in practical abeyance, for better times and better administrators. Feudalism continued to exist legally as the machinery of land tenure, and morally in its more wholesome results as a principle of national cohesion and the discipline of loyalty.

He extinguishes the remains of feudalism in the government.

During the ninety years that followed the conquest in England, three distinct interests were either in active conflict or in passive opposition: that of the royal power, that of the Norman feudatories, and that of the people.

Three influences in opposition from 1066 to 1154.

The fourth interest, that of the clergy, does not in this view assume the prominence which it exhibited later on. It is doubtless true that the privileges of the church in the Norman era should be considered as the franchises of the people;[1] it was through the clergy only that the voice of the people could be heard. From the unity of the national church the unity of the kingdom had itself

What was the position of the church?

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[1] Palgrave, *Normandy and England*, iv. 169.

Earlier and present importance of the position of the clergy.

sprung, and the liberties of the church were almost the only liberties that were left under the change of dynasty. Nor can we forget that in the English constitution, that system which it was the Conqueror's object to retain and administer by his own vassals, far the most important place was given to the clergy, the prelates being by virtue of their spiritual character the chief members of the royal council, and the archbishop of Canterbury occupying a position co-ordinate with royalty itself. The king was not a king until he was crowned, and before he was crowned he must bind himself to maintain the liberties of the church and to act by the counsel of the primate.

The actual and theoretical standing points of the clergy during this period were not the same: Anselm and Becket occupied one, the majority of the clergy another.

For these reasons the Church of England even more than the churches of the continent was in a position to enforce her claims as "the pillar and ground of the truth," as the upholder of righteousness in a degraded and most licentious court, and as the sole monument and bulwark of liberty in an oppressed people. And this consideration gives to the position of Anselm, and even of Thomas Becket, a dignity and a constitutional importance which the particular points for which they contended did not involve. But their position as yet was morally rather than politically definite. It would be to shut our eyes to the plain truth of facts if we were to view the action of Anselm or Thomas as the action of either church or people. The bishops and higher clergy were for the most part on the king's side, appointed to their places as the rewards of services done to him, or as safe instruments of his policy. The king's court and chapel, full of ecclesiastics, represented the actual status of the clergy at the time more truly than Anselm or Thomas, even with the national spirit of the monasteries at their back. The freedom of the church only on occasions and emergencies appeared as a real thing. The counsel of the primate might be given, but it depended on the will of the king and the influence of his court whether or no it should

be taken. Lanfranc and Theobald could influence even William Rufus and Henry II.; Anselm and Thomas, men probably of more force of character, though not more righteous and earnest, took a different course and signally failed.

The constitutional action of the church had yet to be revived and developed, and it owed much more to Hubert Walter and Stephen Langton than to the two saints of the twelfth century. The personal quarrel of William Rufus and Anselm, and the contest on investitures under Henry I., had not a direct bearing on the national life, and tended, especially the latter, which had its origin in circumstances external to England, to place matters on a false issue. Throughout the period the higher clergy ruled with the king, and the lower suffered with the people. The baronial importance of the bishops, and the distinct recognition of the interest of the clerical estate, apart from the king and nobles, date from the later years of Henry I. and the reign of Stephen. Roger of Salisbury and Henry of Blois may be regarded as the founders of the secular as S. Anselm was of the ecclesiastical independence of the clergy. They were in different ways the precursors of Thomas Becket, who combined singularly the worst political qualities of the three. But the importance of the Becket quarrel itself was greater in its indirect consequences than in its simple political issue, and its interest is rather moral or personal than constitutional.

The constitutional action of the church is really of more importance at a later period.

Of the three temporal interests, those of the king, the barons, and the people, the first occupies the chief place in considering the external history of England, the third in the investigation of the internal; but they had this in common, that their real aims were the same, the consolidation and good government of the country; whilst the position of the barons, their selfish aims and foreign aspirations, were as dangerous to the crown as they were in effect oppressive to the people.

The interests of the king and people were now one against that of the barons.

The Conqueror did not intend to reproduce in England the state of things that existed in France.

One benefit which England gained from being conquered by a French vassal was doubtless this, that she was secured from ever falling into the condition in which France then was. The Conqueror, as a statesman, saw that it would never answer his purpose to suffer the existence in England of the class of vassals to which he himself belonged. The king of England should never be subject to the sort of influences which he himself and his fellow feudatories had exercised over the kings of France. In this stage of history every limitation of the power of the nobles was an extension of the liberty of the people. It became very different afterwards, when the power of the crown was established, and a new nobility sprang up under different conditions, with the will to be the leaders and to care for the interests of the nation; but this belongs to a later period than the reign of Henry II.

What amount of feudalism was introduced by William?

William the Conqueror may be said in a general way, with sufficient correctness, to have introduced feudalism into England, that is, he most probably reduced the land tenures to feudal principles universally, his military establishment in his later years was feudal, his ministers were chosen from among his great vassals, or were rewarded with great fiefs, and, so far as he allowed any legislative action independent of or co-ordinate with his own, such legislative action, being exercised by men whose position was owing to their feudal rights, was of a feudal character.

His restrictions on the development of feudal tendencies.

But it was no part of his system that the executive power should be administered by feudal officers. This may be considered as proved by the common arguments: first; the fact that by dividing the possessions of those nobles whose services he was obliged to reward on feudal principles, and by requiring the oath of allegiance to himself to be taken by all freeholders throughout the country, he endeavoured to avoid raising up a class of vassals such as existed in France and Germany, where the sovereign was simply *primus inter pares*, or more

truly the servant of his own servants. The second argument is based on the amount of subordinate organization which he retained from the ancient Anglo-Saxon institutions.

The nobles who accompanied William were not likely to fall in with such a plan. For feudal reciprocity in its proper sense they might have had little or no favour, but they had existed for several generations under feudal principles and they were in a manner acclimatized to the air of France. The very different views of the barons. 1. Their feudal notions. 2. Their pride of race.

But the root of the matter lay deeper far than the incrustation of feudalism. The pride of race was strong within them. It was a confederation of Norsemen that had placed Rollo and his successors on the throne of Normandy. It was a confederation of volunteer vassals, in whom the spirit of the Vikings had revived, that mustered the fleet and army which won the kingdom of England. William might be to the English the testamentary heir of the Confessor; to the French the mightiest vassal of the crown; but to his own followers he was the head of the race, the duke of the Normans, rather than the king of England or the count of Rouen. If he was primus they were pares, most of them of purer descent, many of them of equal origin: his actual primacy he owed chiefly to his personal character. William's position due to his personal character;

Further, the early troubles of his reign in the duchy had considerably diminished the number of true Norman nobles, and this had the effect of concentrating the greater fiefs in the hands of his own relations. Both these things contributed to the maintenance of his personal authority, whilst they left the difficulties of the situation to his successors, with whom the bonds of influence and relationship were weaker, and who had to contend with a body of nobles who were becoming fiercer and prouder as they became fewer. and to his family connexions; causes which were less effective in the case of his successors.

These men were ready enough to take advantage of such points of feudalism as favoured their own independence. Why should they not occupy to the crown

Pride of race and conquest in the barons.

which had been won by their exertions the same position that they saw the counts of Champagne and Vermandois and the dukes of Normandy and Burgundy bearing to the crown of France, whose wearer was their near kinsman, and far less indebted to them for his position? Nor were they unworthy to be the equals of kings, much less of French vassals, who counted among their inferior members the house of Hauteville which was giving law to Italy and threatening the Eastern empire.

3. Their pretensions favoured by the condition of the conquered country.

There was much, moreover, in the condition of the conquered country which might seem to favour the claims of the nobles to feudal independence. England under the Confessor had been broken up into great earldoms or satrapies, each containing many shires, and in fact representing in some measure one of the ancient kingdoms of the Heptarchy. Each earl governed by authority directly delegated by the sovereign, and was supreme in his earldom, both in war and in peace: but the dignity was not necessarily hereditary, and although probably given in theory for the life of the grantee, was subject to the conditions of promotion and degradation. The exact parallel for this state of things must be sought in the contemporary condition of Germany and in a much earlier condition of France. But the main point of separate independent jurisdiction strongly resembled the feudal division of the latter country. It would have been the most natural thing in the world for Hugh of Avranches, Roger Montgomery, or William Fitz Osbern to have taken the place of Tostig, Swegen, and Leofric. The urgency with which the local franchises of the Anglo-Saxon lords were pressed by the Norman barons to the exaltation of their own privileges may serve to show that had the chance been given them they would have gladly claimed the greater jurisdictions on a like plea. As it was, they found themselves in relation to the royal power, in a position actually less influential than that which had been occupied by the Anglo-Saxon earls. They had conquered England for William not for them-

selves. William's own measures shows that he foresaw the results of this; but his sons had the first experience of its working. In the attempt to set aside the male line of the ducal house in the rebellion of 1095 may be traced the principle of the equality and confederation of the race, as well as an attempt to assert for the great vassals the independence of feudal princes. Robert Mowbray expiated his rebellion by a life-long captivity, but until the Norman nobility became extinct he never lacked imitators.

4. Their jealousy of the ministers of the crown.

With this deeply-seated feeling of insubordination was closely connected the jealousy with which the nobles regarded the king's ministers. Under the Conqueror, whose most faithful adherents were men of his own blood, acknowledging in him the source of their fortune and the pre-eminence of strength, we find few complaints of the aggrandizement of insignificant officers. William's servants were in fact chosen either from the nobles themselves or from the clergy, whom the close union of secular and ecclesiastical supremacy in the friendship of the king and Lanfranc kept in their places, and from whose number the notoriously unworthy were for the most part excluded. Under William Rufus begin the complaints of unworthy favourites and ignoble ministers, and at the very same time the difficulties with the clergy, and the revolutionary attempts of the great vassals. Both the clergy, so far as Anselm represented them, and the vassals, aimed at a position to which, on the analogy of other countries, they felt themselves entitled, although they had never yet possessed it: the king's only possible agents in opposing their attempts were the ministers whom he had chosen, and whom gratitude and community of interest attached to him and his policy. If these men did not content themselves with hindering the aggrandizements of the nobles and clergy, but actually tried to drive them from the vantage ground which in the exigencies of the conquest had been accorded to them, there is nothing sur-

prising in the fact that they were even more obnoxious to their opponents than was the king himself.

5. The disputes about the succession had shaken the attachment of the nobles to the king.

For to the difficulties which the very existence of the Norman feudatories, with their notions of race and of French feudalism, brought to the royal power, must be added certain weak points in the position of the crown itself. With the life of William I. ceased the unity of Norman feeling in England. Almost immediately on the accession of William Rufus the question of succession emerged, and with it division. Robert of Normandy had his adherents if he had had the will or energy to use them. Stephen of Aumale was the favourite of another and that a very powerful section of the barons. On the death of William Rufus the claims of Robert were asserted, and so far maintained as to compel Henry to enter into an alliance with the subject race. On Henry's death followed the divisions between the parties of Stephen of Blois and Matilda, and later on between the Norman and Angevin parties among Matilda's adherents. In all these divisions the nobles had ranged themselves sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other: they had contracted enmities and reconciled them, formed friendships and broken them: hardly any house had uniformly acted on the same principle, and consequently hardly any had not at some time found itself in opposition to the royal authority.[1] Thus the principle of attachment to the king had grown weaker and the love of independence stronger: the right of private war and of separate alliances had been exerted if not vindicated, and it was fortunate indeed for the royal power that it had been wielded by strong hands, or

[1] "Heralds tell us that the "shield of the traitorous knight "is to be reversed. Had this law "of chivalry been observed in Nor-"mandy, would not the beautiful "stained glass glowing in the rich "church windows have looked "oddly? the majority of the em-"blazonments turned upside down, "unless a double infidelity autho-"rized Sir Knight to turn his shield "right up again." Palgrave, *Normandy and England*, iv. 256.

England must have fallen altogether, as it did in Stephen's reign, into chronic anarchy. Fortunately also the internal feuds divided and weakened the nobles themselves and diminished their numbers, so that for Henry of Anjou there was left a not altogether hopeless prospect of consolidating a strong government.

But they had also divided them among themselves.

Henry came to the destructive part of his work with great advantages. He was for the most part untrammeled by Norman traditions and associations. He did not owe his crown to the swords of Norman warriors, but to the support of the clergy given to the indisputable and undisputed claim which had been won for him by earl Robert of Gloucester, the bastard son of his grandfather, who for all practical purposes was an Englishman. Henry himself was an Angevin, and the interests of his Angevin subjects were never likely to come into dangerous collision with his designs or prospects as king of England.

Henry not bound to the Normans or their policy.

The Normans had been indeed the enemies of his father and his paternal house, and but lukewarm supporters of his mother. But if there were few ties of personal friendship or of common natural feeling to be broken before the task of demolishing the rival interest was begun, there were also few incitements to personal hatred such as might embitter the contest or endanger the result. The struggle from the beginning was political rather than personal, and throughout it was rather the power than the estates or the persons of his enemies that Henry laboured to secure.[1] We read during his reign of none of the great and startling confiscations which before the

His struggle with the barons not embittered by personal feeling.

[1] There is a very important passage in Ralph de Diceto, 570, too long to transcribe. He states that the partizans of the younger Henry were chiefly those on whom the hand of the father had fallen heavily, "quia rex pater, regiæ titulos dig-"nitatis ampliare procurans . . . "castella patriæ suspecta vel ever-"teret, vel in suam redigeret po-"testatem, bonorum occupatores "quæ suam ad mensam quasi ad "fiscum ab antiquo pertinere nos-"cuntur, patrimonio proprio con-"tentos esse debere assereret et "etiam cogeret, &c."

No great forfeitures.

death of Henry I. had fallen on almost every one of the great families sprung from the companions of the Conqueror.[1]

He had at first an easy task in humbling the barons and dismantling the castles.

The experience of the anarchy of the last reign had taught the nation generally to wish for a strong government, and the evils of it were so patent and indisputable that the policy of the new king, coinciding as it did for the most part with the provisions of the treaty by which the crown was secured to him, was acquiesced in at first with very little difficulty. The castles of the smaller tyrants were speedily dismantled,[2] and with them their power of doing mischief was annihilated. It was only on the marches that resistance was offered, and before the end of the first year of the reign Hugh de Mortimer was brought to submit[3] and William of Aumale deprived of his last stronghold. The Scots restored the northern provinces which had been won in the name of Matilda.[4] England welcomed peace and prepared to accept the reforms which alone could strengthen her internal union and enable her to defend and extend her borders. The king was at liberty to carry on alternately his measures of domestic legislation and his plans of foreign policy.

He was thus enabled to legislate.

[1] "Testantur hoc Normannorum "proceres, alii capti, alii incarce- "rati, alii exhæredati in hodiernum "diem." Joh. Salisb. Policr. vi. 18.

[2] "Mox castella nova quæ in "diebus avi sui nequaquam exsti- "terant complanari præcepit, præ- "ter pauca in locis opportunis sita "quæ vel ipse retinere, vel a paci- "ficis ad regni munimen retineri "voluit." W. Newb. ii. 1.

[3] Roger of Gloucester gave in about May; Hugh de Mortimer on the 7th of July; R. de Monte, ad 1155; Gervase, 1378. Henry destroyed Cleobury Castle, the property of Mortimer, and on Roger's death retained the earldom of Hereford in his own hands. In the winter he seized the castles belonging to the bishop of Winchester. On his return to England in 1157, he took into his hands the castles of Hugh Bigot, and the holdings which had been conferred on William the son of Stephen at Pevensey and in Norfolk by the treaty of Westminster. Brompton, 1038; R. de Monte, ad 1157.

[4] In 1157. R. de Monte, ad ann. "Aquilonales Angliæ regiones . . . "nomine Matildis dictæ impera- "tricis et hæredis ejus olim a David "Scottorum rege adquisitas." W. Newburgh, ii. 4.

His presence was for several years scarcely required in England, where he had shown both the strength of his hand and the real moderation of his aims.

The rebellion of 1173 and 1174.

But the shock which followed the quarrel and death of Thomas Becket gave the signal for the resuscitation of the slumbering elements of discord, and the rebellion of Henry and Richard in 1173 afforded occasion for the outbreak which nothing but the personal abilities of the king and his ministers prevented from becoming a revolution.

Union of the great nobles against the king; in England,

It was still, if we may judge of it by the ordinary rules of evidence, far more a political than a personal conflict. Nearly all the great earls both in Normandy and in England were engaged on the side of the princes. Those of Chester, Leicester, Norfolk, Huntingdon, and Ferrers; the king of Scotland, the great baron of Mowbray, Hamo de Masci, Richard de Morville, and Geoffrey of the Cotentin, representing the remnant of the party of the conquest: men and families who had never before found themselves on the same side, united against the king.

and in Normandy.

In Normandy the great feudatories of the duchy, many of whom had large estates in England, were bound up both in cause and in kindred with the English rebels. The count of Meulan was the head of the Norman Beaumonts, as the earl of Leicester was of the English: the Counts of Eu and Evreux[1] represented junior branches of the ducal house; those of Alençon and Ponthieu the heirs of

[1] The right of garrisoning the baronial castles was a chief prerogative of the dukes of Normandy, and a source of constant soreness with the great vassals. In 1161 Henry seized the castles of the count of Meulan and other Norman barons. In 1166 those of the counts of Ponthieu and Seez; those of the Lusignans in 1165; those of the Leonois in 1171. In the same year he doubled the revenues of the duchy of Normandy by resuming lands which had been detained since the death of Henry I. All the nobles who suffered this treatment are found in arms against Henry. Cf. R. de. Monte, 1159, 1161, 1164, 1166.

Unfaithful vassals in Normandy.

Robert of Bellesme. The earl of Chester held the hereditary viscounties of Bayeux and Avranches. All these were marshalled against king Henry. Arnulf bishop and count of Lisieux played in Normandy the same double game that his fellow count bishop Hugh of Puiset was doing in England. William of Aumale, who like Hugh of Puiset was closely connected with the house of Champagne, and had to revenge the loss of his almost regal power north of the Humber, after a mock defence yielded his whole continental possessions to the insurgents.[1]

The king had a party of his own relations and a few nobles.

On Henry's side were the earls of Cornwall, Warren, Gloucester,[2] and Arundel, all closely connected with him by birth or marriage, and the earl of Essex, William de Mandeville, whose tie was that of simple honour and gratitude. Strongbow earl of Striguil,[3] the earls of Salisbury, Warwick, and Northampton were on the same side; but Strongbow's chief interest now was in Ireland, and the others were either in possessions or in character insignificant. The strength of the royal party consisted first of those who had risen to importance as the ministers of Henry's reforms, and secondly of the people, who had benefited by them; Ranulf Glanvill and Richard de Lucy at the head of the freemen of the country, supported by the Stutevilles, the Umfravilles, and others who had become more thoroughly English than the greater barons.

but its strength lay in the ministers and people.

The bishops were faithful.

The whole of the bishops both in Normandy and in England remained loyal; only Hugh[4] and Arnulf tried to be on both sides at once.

The sources of disaffection in Aquitaine and Poictou were of the same sort as those in Normandy and England,

[1] R. de Diceto, 571.

[2] Yet even the earl of Gloucester was suspected both now and in 1183, and his son-in-law, the earl of Clare. R. de Dic. 578.

[3] Strongbow was, however, present with Henry in France. R. de Dic. 572.

[4] R. de Dic. 573.

but in those countries the cause owed, as in Brittany, somewhat of its character to the influences of nationality and to the personal popularity of the princes.

The rebels had no common cause.

What pretexts were alleged by the barons as the cloak of the real causes of discontent does not appear.[1] In spite of the strength of their numbers and mass, and in spite of the real unity of their interest, they had no organization, they had no bill of grievances, no head and no watchword. The whole rising bears the character of a simple reaction against the pressure of strong government; a reaction the opportunity of which was so obvious as to strike all alike, and to call even without concert all the subject forces into motion; but the only definite purpose of which was to create a confusion out of which the strongest hand might pluck advantage. The odds were apparently dead against the king. The rebels could hardly have calculated, considering the immense extent of the area of disaffection, the importance of the leaders, the alliance of the kings of France and Scotland, and the open adherence of queen Eleanor and her sons, on a result which would strengthen the royal power and exalt beyond precedent the personal importance of Henry.

The rebellion speedily crushed.

The whole rebellion was crushed in a few months, and so thoroughly that the good fortune of the king seemed to his contemporaries more astonishing than even his skill and energy. The king of Scotland, the earls of Chester and Leicester were prisoners, the earls Ferrers and Bigot

[1] Sir Francis Palgrave says of the rising of the Norman barons against Robert in 1087, "Could the "barons have patronized a chro- "nicler of their own, this continued "turbulence might have been de- "scribed as a patriotic struggle to "regain their lawful independence. "Under William, however, they "had really sustained no grievance "except the necessity of submitting "to the law." *Normandy and England*, iv. 25. The same may be said almost exactly of this rebellion. Compare also the condition of Normandy under Robert (ib. 231) with that of England under Stephen.

Henry's position strengthened.

and Mowbray vieing with one another in haste to surrender, Henry found himself in firmer possession of the strongholds of the country than he had been even in 1156.[1]

He abstains from severe punishment;

It is difficult to say to what the barons owed their immunity from punishment, if it were not the certainty that it was safer to humble than to destroy them; safest of all, while disarming the system that upheld them[2] to win them by moderation, kindness, and confidence.[3]

but takes and keeps the castles of the country.

In the year 1176 the king took into his own hands all the castles of England and Normandy;[4] he did not even except the castle of Ongar which belonged to the faithful Richard de Lucy. Those of the earls of Chester, Leicester, and Norfolk, with those of Roger Mowbray, he dismantled. But early in the following year he restored the offending earls to their estates, the castles excepted, of which two only belonging to the earl of Leicester and one of the earl of Chester's remained standing.

Measures for retaining his hold on the castles.

That the policy of disarmament might not be evaded, the precautions of law were superadded. The justices in itinere were instructed in 1176 to take cognizance of the warderships of all the castles that were suffered to stand, and to enforce the complete demolition of the condemned ones. At the council of Geddington i 1177, the custodians of all the Northern castles were removed, and from this time the maintenance of the royal grasp on these strongholds was regarded as a distinct object of policy.

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[1] "Sic in brevi pene rebelles "omnes obtinuit, ut longe fortius "quam prius ex eo quo infirmari "debuit, confirmaretur in regno." Dialogus de Scacc. p. 38.

[2] He immediately destroyed the castles of the rebels. R. de Dic. 585.

[3] Gir. Camb. De Inst. Pr. ii. 3. "Inter ipsos triumphales eventus, "summam clementiam . . . con- "servavit." William of Newburgh has a chapter on this, full as usual of good sense, ii. 38, "Comprehensis "insuper hostibus tam enormis "sæculi incentoribus inaudita pe- "percit misericordia, ut eorum "pauci rerum suarum, nulli vero "status sui vel corporum dispendia "sustinerent." Dialogus, p. 38.

[4] R. de Diceto, 594. Cf. 600.

Gradually all the offenders were restored to their territories, but the custody of the castles was withheld. The visitation of the castellanships was made a regular article of the commission of the judges, and the governors were frequently changed, so as to vest the posts gradually and entirely in the hands of the king's officers. The result was that England enjoyed internal peace for the remainder of the reign, and when in 1183 the rebellion of the princes threatened abroad to renew the terrible scenes of 1174, the simple measure of securing the persons of the suspected earls was sufficient, and was regarded as more than sufficient, to guarantee the tranquillity of the kingdom.

Measures for retaining the custody of the castles.

Less stirring in incident but far more important in their effects on the life of the nation were the measures by which Henry built up the civil portions of his design of consolidation. They do not occupy the same space in the pages of the historians, and have yet to be investigated with the whole apparatus of archæological research: for they lie for the most part within the unpopular region of legal antiquities. But the most superficial view of the politics of the age would be not merely imperfect, but glaringly false, without some attempt to describe them.

Sketch of Henry's civil reforms.

In this respect as well as in the former Henry came to the crown with great advantages: he succeeded to the policy of the Conqueror and Henry I., and inherited the wisest and most faithful servants of the latter. It was in his favour also, that following on a period of anarchy his reforms were not restricted to a simple restitution of the past, but with the restoration of government he might almost at will develop and extend its expedients. His general policy seems to have been a thorough development, in the direction of national life and unity, of the principles which had appeared in germ in the selfish policy of his predecessors.

His advantages in inheriting the old policy with a new position that enabled him to develop it his own way.

It is I think strictly true to say that the actual alteration of the institutions of the country which took place

Overstatement of the effects of

the Conquest. Two views of it.

at the conquest has been generally as much overstated on the one side as underrated on the other. One school of historical writers sees in the Norman policy very little more than a crystallization of a process which was going on rapidly in the same direction during the last century of Anglo-Saxon rule; the other regards it as a complete subversion of both persons and institutions. I believe the truth to be that the plan of the Conqueror was simply to dovetail a feudal superstructure into the fundamental framework of the Anglo-Saxon polity.

A third view.

The feudal and allodial systems.

That there was nothing radically inconsistent in the two systems is historically clear; both sprang from the same home in the Teutonic forests. The allodial or Saxon system was that of the Germans at home, the feudal or Frank system was their policy as settlers and conquerors.[1] William came with a band of feudal nobles to a free people; his nobles might continue to be feudal and his people might continue to be free.

Comparison of the two.

In the Anglo-Saxon system the strength of the fabric was, as I have said before, in the lower ranges of the organism. The cohesion was weakest as the pyramid should have risen to an apex. In the feudal system the cohesion was the strongest above; the principle of unity was fidelity to the superior, not the maintenance of the distinct freedom of the individual by voluntary association. At the foundation of the former was liberty, at that of the latter serfdom. The common medium was land, the possession of which was in the allodial system the proof of freedom, in the feudal the occasion of service.

[1] I do not mean by this remark to ignore the admixture of Roman usages in the feudal customs. The *beneficiary* principle, from which most of the peculiarities of feudalism rise, owed its origin to the German system of the "gesiths" of the princes, but its details and applications grew up after the conquerors had come within the influence of the civil law. Cf. Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, i. 77, 495, &c., who goes even further in ascribing it to the Roman law.

The feudal system was the exponent of the views of the rulers, the allodial of those of the nation.

William the Conqueror's treatment of feudalism.

To William the Conqueror, as indeed probably to the later Anglo-Saxon kings, the feudal system was doubtless the model system of government: to William it was the only one experimentally known. But it did not follow that it was to be forced in all its details on an unwilling people. He intended to be king of England, the king of the nation as well as the conqueror of the crown; and whatever were the designs of William Rufus and Henry I., Henry II. followed in the steps of his greater ancestor. Why could not a system be devised which should unite the strength and unity of the higher institutions of feudalism with the strength and unity of the lower institutions of the ancient system? True the principle of allodial tenure was to be extinguished, this had been done in a great measure before the conquest, but the institutions of the system might be retained. The feudal tenure was to be universally enforced, but feudal jurisprudence was not inseparable from it. In Normandy itself the lower organization of the feudal theory had never been carried into details or actually displaced the original institutions of the subject population.[1]

How to manage the baronage.

Was it possible to raise up a great feudal nobility that would be all powerful in dependence on and in defence of the crown, but unwieldy and unmanageable if an attempt should be made to use it against the sovereign? Would it be possible to maintain the characteristic institutions of the English nation in integrity for all purposes of peace, justice, and security?

William creates a new nobility.

By the forfeitures of the great Saxon earldoms in 1066 and 1070, William was enabled at once to secure the former object. By the distribution of their estates and dignities he created a new nobility on the ruins of the old, which would be collectively strong, but would have as its

[1] Cf. Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, i. 549.

He creates a new administrative system.

sole principle of union the maintenance of that central power from which it had received its existence. The same event, by removing the cumbersome superstructure of the Anglo-Saxon system, enabled him to substitute for the ealdorman and sheriff ministers subject immediately to himself, and so to retain in his own hands the administration of justice and the sinews of war, the national revenue and the national militia. But could such a constitution be lasting? The Norman kings tried the experiment and with partial success. They succeeded in creating a feudal nobility, but not so far as to give the institution that unity and national spirit in which only it could become consolidated with the mass of the state. It was not until the Norman nobility was thoroughly humbled and disabled that internal peace was secured under the strong hand of Henry II. The same strong hand and active versatile mind must be traced in the administrative changes which at last brought the whole system of the country, judicial, military, and fiscal, under the control of the central government.

Partial success of his plan.

Complete success of Henry II.'s.

The Conqueror retained many of the Anglo-Saxon institutions.

William the Conqueror retained in great measure both the laws and the judicial system of the earlier kings. He rather enforced than relaxed the observance of the frankpledge,[1] and the authority of the hundred and shire mote; trial by compurgation, the ordeal and the wergild. Merchenalage, Danelage, and Westseaxnalage still continued in their diversity; the few Norman legal customs which he introduced were for the Normans only. But the sheriff ceased to be even in theory the elected president of the shiremote, and became the vicecount, as his superior the ealdorman had passed through the intermediate stage of earlship into the Norman count. The change in this point was indeed rather in name than in reality, for the sheriff had as well as the ealdorman become a royal

The spirit of his changes.

[1] Cf. Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, i. 201, and *Normandy and England*, iii. 600, &c.

officer long before the conquest.[1] But the theory still was that he was an elective one, and some form of acceptance in the folkmote may have preserved the tradition of a time when it actually was so. But although the name of vicecomes now becomes the equivalent of scyrgerefa,[2] it signifies no real dependence on or derivation of authority from the earl. He was the king's representative, judicial, fiscal, and military, in the shire. The earl has his third penny, but the authority rests with the sheriff: the earl may be sheriff himself, but he administers the shire as sheriff, not as earl. So the magistrate of the hundred becomes a bailiff; the court of the hundred with its pleas and profits is granted away to the feudal castellan;[3] the view of frankpledge is severed from the sheriff's tourn and leet and made one of the rights of the feudal manor.

The sheriff in theory a popular, in fact a royal officer.

Change of names.

The retention of this lower machinery involved the retention of the ancient process of jurisdiction. In this, at least in its subordinate arrangements, the conquest produced little change except in the substitution of Norman for English names and persons. But the position of the Norman baron in the office of sheriff differed from that of the Anglo-Saxon thane. The latter had his sak and sok, tol and them, outfangtheof and infangtheof, and to these the Norman gladly put in the claim of succession: but the Norman had besides, his barony in Normandy which he governed by strict Norman law, to the process of which, as giving more power to himself, he naturally inclined to assimilate that of the English courts in which he held either a personal or a ministerial presidency. The office of sheriff was in many cases hereditary and in almost all was vested in some important feudal noble.

Lower courts and their process retained.

Introduction of Norman processes.

There were thus co-existing in the country three

[1] See Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, i. 128.

[2] On the relation between the earl and the sheriff, and the derivation of the word vicecomes; see Madox's note on the Dialogus, p. 31.

[3] Dialogus de Scaccario, p. 42.

Three systems of co-ordinate jurisdictions.

distinct systems of lower jurisdiction, exclusive of the ecclesiastical courts. I. The ancient courts of the hundred and the shire, popular in origin and process and coeval probably with Anglo-Saxon civilization; presided over by magistrates whose election was claimed by the suitors, and which, although the claim was obsolete, were distinguished by the fact, and perhaps in some legal particulars, from those tribunals in which the king was recognized as the sole fountain of justice. II. There were secondly the jurisdictions of the ancient franchises, exercised by the lords who had succeeded to the estates whose ancient owners had possessed sak and sok. III. Thirdly there were the strictly feudal courts of the manors, organized by the new nobility of the conquest.

Difficulty of obtaining and enforcing justice.

The joint existence of these systems was a cause of perplexity to justice, for not only were their proper provinces and matters of litigation as yet far from being accurately divided, but their very existence afforded a basis for aggression, and a court which was intended as a resource in times of peace for civil disputes might easily, and did in the reign of Stephen, come in troublous times to be used for the purposes of oppression and exaction. That the persons who exercised these several jurisdictions were in many cases the same, added an element of uncertainty to the attainment of justice and a temptation to indiscriminate tyranny.

The means of obtaining equal and uniform justice.

The natural and proper method of diminishing the evil was to retain in the popular courts as much as possible of the popular process, to limit the exercise of the old franchises,[1] and to hinder the extension of the new ones, regulating the whole by the appointment of superior judges and avoiding the nomination of those persons as sheriffs whose feudal position was such as to make it likely that they would import into their ministerial jurisdictions the principles they exercised in their feudal

[1] On the limitations of the franchises, see Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, i. 211, &c.

demesnes, to the detriment of justice and the furtherance of selfish aims.[1]

Henry II. as a legislator.

To Henry II we owe the framework of a uniform and equal judicial system, and a general and authoritative enunciation of the principles of the common law.

His judicial reforms. I. Itinerant justices.

There is no occasion to look for a precedent for the institution of itinerant justices in the missi dominici of Charles the Great, or in the measures of Lewis the Fat. The theory of a travelling tribunal had been familiarized to the English by the judicial eyres of the Anglo-Saxon kings and by the three annual placita of the Conqueror. Nor was it merely the highest remedial jurisdiction in the person or court of the sovereign that had thus brought justice within reach of each region of the kingdom. Special commissions had been frequently issued for particular purposes.[2] The barons of the ex-

Judicial eyres no novelty.

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[1] This preference of novi homines for offices of trust, and discarding of the great feudatories who had shown themselves unworthy of it, is a point on which Ralph Niger exaggerates greatly: "Servos, spurios, caligatos, cubili, mensæ, "regno præfecit, et ex iis quæstores, prætores, proconsules, tribunos, municipes, forestarios super "provincias constituit." By the word *spurios*, Geoffrey is possibly referred to: the rest is false. The families from which Lucy, Glanville, and the other faithful ministers of Henry sprang, were equal in all but wealth to those of the great earls. Yet even Ordericus Vitalis speaks of the Bassets as upstarts, although the noblest of the Normans could hardly boast of a pedigree a century old. There was a great pride of race amongst them, but in their relations with one another wealth and power were the only real differences. Ralph continues, "Illustres ignominiis oneratos, sed "cæteris rebus vacuos, patrimoniis "omnino privavit, vel subdole por- "tionibus detractis decrustando "sensim adnihilavit." A punishment in most cases richly deserved, but by no means really inflicted. "Ex cubiculariis et aulæ nugatori- "bus episcopos, abbates, factos auc- "toritate propria ad officium appa- "ritorum revocavit, et quem præ- "sulem crearat ex præside, in præ- "sidatum recreavit ex præsule." A statement, with the exception of his son Geoffrey, altogether false. R. Niger, ed. Anstruther, p. 167.

[2] The famous assize of Huncote in 1124 must have been more than this: "Thes ilces geares æfter S. "Andreas messe toforen Christes "messe held Raulf Basset and thes "kinges thæines gewitene mot on "Lethecæstre scire at Hunde-hoge "and ahengen thær swa fela thefas "swa næfre ær ne wæron." Chr. Sax. ad ann. 1124.

Fiscal eyres. chequer were also the judges of the king's court, and it might seem a simple step to add to the assessment of tallages, which was the object of their fiscal journeys, a portion of the judicial work which would otherwise come before them in the supreme court. Much obscurity hangs over the subject. It is certain that there were judicial eyres[1] early in the twelfth century, but the functions and exact status of the judges cannot be defined. We can only guess that they were the officers of the king's court, and that their functions were limited as much by the demand for their services as by the terms of their commission. Most suits must have been decided in the county courts before the sheriffs; in some cases there seem to be traces of the establishment of provincial judges superior to the sheriffs:[2] but further litigation must have been expensive, laborious, and dilatory. We do not even know at what period the more important pleas of the crown were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the sheriff, but as it was not later than the reign of Henry I., we may safely ascribe to him the mission of occasional judges who were

Early judicial eyres.

The county courts.

Henry I. employed justices in itinere.

[1] The language of John of Salisbury, Policrat. v. 15, is obscure. "Quæ vero de præsidibus, aliisque "judicibus dicta sunt, debent et "apud proconsules quos nostrates "vulgariter dicunt justitias esse "errantes, obtinere." It may refer either to the sheriffs or to the fiscal journeys of the officers of the exchequer, as he goes on to charge them with extortion. This book was written between 1159 and 1162, too early, therefore, to refer to any of Henry's reformed institutions, unless we suppose it to have been re-written at a later period. William FitzStephen mentions the justitiarii itinerantes as being at Dunstable before 1163. S. T. C. i. 214. Simon FitzPeter, who was the judge on that occasion, was the sheriff of Bedfordshire. Roger Pontign., S. T. C. i. 114. Cf. Grim. S. T. C. i. 23. Cf. R. de Dic. 536. Const. Clar.

[2] On this point the opinions of legal antiquaries give a uniform negative, but it is difficult to see what was the position of William Espec and Eustace FitzJohn (who were not itinerant judges but great resident barons and castellans), in Yorkshire, in the Pipe Roll of 31 Hen. I., if it were not of this sort: nor the meaning of the charter of the empress Matilda, by which she makes Geoffrey de Mandeville not only sheriff but chief justice in Essex. Dugd. Baronage, i. 202.

superior to the sheriffs, and whose jurisdiction was to review both the judicial and fiscal proceedings of the shire. The thorough organization of the details of this institution was one of the great works of his grandson. Henry II. perfected the system.

The year 1166 must be fixed upon as the date and the assize of Clarendon as the act which mark the first distinct appearance of this important reform.[1] The text of the assize was published first by Sir Francis Palgrave in the second volume of his history of the English Commonwealth,[2] from the royal manuscript of Hoveden, and is reprinted in a revised form in the appendix to this preface. I must be allowed to state my reasons for assigning it to the year 1166. Assize of Clarendon in 1166.

I. In the year 1176 Henry at a council at Northampton caused to be recorded and amended an assize called the assize of Clarendon; and this revised edition as given in the present chronicle agrees in so many particulars with the document in question that there can be no doubt that it was the one referred to. Proof of the date.

II. In the year 1170[3] Henry made a visitation, by means of itinerant barons, of all the counties in England for the purpose of inquiry into the conduct of the sheriffs;

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[1] Various traces of earlier legislative acts in the same direction may be found in the loose language of the historians, especially William of Newburgh; and as I shall show below, Henry seems to have restored the eyres of the judges, as practised in his grandfather's time, as soon as he began to reign. The following notice, as early as 1160, refers only to his continental dominions, but something of the same kind may have been done in England. "Anno 1160, rex Anglorum Henricus ad Natale Domini fuit apud "Falesiam, et leges instituit ut "nullus decanus aliquam personam "accusaret sine testimonio vicino-"rum circum manentium qui bonæ "vitæ fama laudabiles haberentur. "De causis similiter quorum libet "ventilandis instituit ut cum judi-"ces singularum provinciarum sin-"gulis mensibus ad minus simul "convenirent, sine testimonio vici-"norum nihil judicarent, injuriam "nemini facerent, præjudicium non "irrogarent, pacem tenerent, latro-"nes cunctos statim punirent, quæ-"que quiete tenerent ecclesiæ sua "jura possiderent." R. de Monte, Bouquet, xiii. 304. This looks very like an instruction to the county court.

[2] ii. clxviii.–clxxi.

[3] Gervase, 1410. S. T. C. ii. 262.

Proof of the date of the assize of Clarendon.

one of the articles of their commission was to examine into the disposition of the goods of felons and fugitives under the assize of Clarendon. This assize was then of earlier date than 1170.

III. The assize itself contains in its last chapter a prohibition against the reception or protection of the heretics condemned in the Council of Oxford. This council was held in the king's presence in the January or February of 1166.[1]

IV. But at the beginning of Lent, 1166 (March 3),[2] Henry left England, and did not return until 1170, when he immediately issued the commission for the Inquest of Sheriffs.

The assembly at which this assize was enacted must be referred, therefore, to a date between New Year's day and the first day of Lent, 1166.

Historical notices of the council.

A Council of Clarendon is mentioned by Edward Grim and by Roger of Pontigny, in which an oath was exacted from the bishops that they would not appeal to the pope. This is very probably the identical council at which the assize was passed, and may be fixed to the year 1166 by Grim's statement, that "per idem quoque tempus" the pope wrote to Roger of York a letter, dated at Anagni, April 5, 1166.[3]

For further confirmation of the date, we have recourse to the Pipe Rolls[4] as the only existing records for any

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[1] R. de Diceto, 539. "Quidam "pravi dogmatis disseminatores "tracti sunt in judicium apud "Oxeneford, præsente rege præ-"sentibus et episcopis. Quos a "fide nostra devios et in examine "superatos facies cauteriata nota-"biles cunctis exposuit expulsos a "regno. Rex Angliæ transfretavit "circa initium Quadragesimæ." If this council be the same as that described by William of Newburgh, as held about 1160 or 1161, and they appear to be the same, the fact that the king was present at it, proves that he or his editor has given a wrong date. Henry was not in England from 1158 to 1163.

[2] R. de Dic. 539. Rot. Pip. A°. 12. Hamtona. See Madox's note on the Dialogus, p. 19

[3] S. T. C. i. 55, 156. Jaffé, 708.

[4] Pipe Roll, 12 Hen. II., WILTS. "Pro conductu venationis regis

Evidence of the Pipe Rolls as to a council at Clarendon.

indications of the royal movements at the time, and we are not disappointed, for the payments for the conveyance of the king's wine, venison, and harness show that he did in the twelfth year of his reign (therefore between Michaelmas, 1165, from which date the roll of the twelfth year began to be made up, and the beginning of Lent) move from London to Oxford, from Oxford to Woodstock, from Woodstock to Clarendon, and from Clarendon or Woodstock to Shoreham, whence it would seem certain that he embarked. The mention of the conveyance to Clarendon of the king's provers, and of the payment for wax and for the delivery of summonses, point unmistakeably to the holding of a court of justice at the same place. The mention of the Oxford heretics in the assize, which gives them an importance far from proportionate to the real danger arising from their exertions, is a proof that it must have been drawn up under the immediate pressure of the excitement caused by the council, and before the real insignificance of the heresy had been proved by results.

That the Assize of Clarendon[1] really marks an im-

"de Chepeham ad Wudestoch, et "pro conducendo vino regis de "Clarendon ad Wudestoch."

"Et pro conducendo crasso pisce "de Lundonia ad Clarendon vi. *s.* "pro Edw. Bl. et Rogero Ostiario "xiii. *s.* iv. *d.*, ad port. summon. "et xii. *d.* pro cera ad summonit. et "pro pannis ad opus Henrici filii "regis xvi. *li.* xiii. *s.* et x. *d.*; et "pro custamento probatorum et pro "conductu illorum ad Clarendon "xlviii. *s.*; et pro una hugia ad "port. hernesium regis ad Shorham "et pro ipso hernesio viii. *s.* et "x. *d.*"

HANTS. "Et pro vinis regis et "ipsis conducendis de Hantona ad "Clarendon et ad Wudestoch et ad "Sarum et ad Chepeham, &c. In "liberatione Esnecce quando rex "transfretavit in quadragesima, etc. "In passagio regis Scotiæ, Gaufridi filii regis," &c.

"Pro conduc. sell. et hernes. "regis de Wudestoch ad Shoreham "xiii. *s.* et iv. *d.*, et pro feno conducendo ad Wudestoch."

A reference to the Dialogus de Scaccario, pp. 10, 11, will show that these particulars belong to the holding of a court at Clarendon.

[1] The assize of Clarendon seems to be identical with the "arctior "assisa quam rex propter sceleratos constituit" of the Dialogus, p. 46; according to which the goods of "fugitives" were confiscated

This assize is an important era in legal history.

portant judicial epoch, and is not merely a unique relic of a system which had been in silent operation for some time, may appear from the following considerations. In the first place the instructions have a retrospective view, and the point to which they look back is the commencement of the king's reign. They are not, as the famous Constitutions of Clarendon were, an enunciation of consuetudines, but both in form and substance a new legislative act, and the first chapter contains directions for an inquest into all cases of murder and robbery that had occurred, not since the last iter, but "postquam dominus "rex fuit rex." The inquest of sheriffs in 1170,[1] on the other hand, directs the barons errant to inquire into the receipts of those officers since the king went abroad, a point of time coinciding with our supposed date of the Assize of Clarendon,[2] and the reference of the same inquest, and of the Assize of Northampton in 1176 to this assize, points to the inference that it was a distinctly recognized measure of reform. The oblivion into which the assize has fallen among the early historians may easily be accounted for by the superior importance which the Council of Clarendon of 1164 held in common estimation. We have no real contemporary historian of the

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to the king. See ch. 5 and 18 of the Assize, and the Assize of Sheriffs, c. 6. It is called "Regia "constitutio quæ est pro bono "pacis." Dial. p. 48. It is well to observe that the chattels of fugitives are accounted for earlier than 1166 in some instances, as in Northumberland, Rot. Pip. 10 & 11 Hen. II.; (and Cf. Const. Clarendon, xiv., which shows that the confiscation of the goods of felons was already in use), but that the chattels of those "qui perierunt in judicio "aquæ," "fugitivorum et eorum "qui perierunt ad aquam," begin to be accounted for in the rolls of the 12th of Henry II. The roll of the 15th mentions the Assize of Clarendon by name, "Idem vice- "comes reddit compotum de catal- "lis fugitivorum et suspensorum "per assisam de Clarendon." Madox, Hist. Exch. p. 236. And the Assize of Northampton is named in exactly the same terms in the rolls of the 22nd.

[1] Gervase, 1410.

[2] "Et de catallis fugitivorum pro "assisa de Clarendune, et de catal- "lis eorum qui per assisam illam "perierunt," &c. Gerv. 1411.

year 1166, and those who wrote a few years later very naturally may have supposed, as Gervase of Canterbury certainly did, that the Assize of Clarendon had been enacted in 1164.[1]

Confounded with the Constitutions of Clarendon.

The assize contains the instructions for itinerant justices holding courts in the several shires. A further reference to the Pipe Rolls at once confirms the supposed date of the assize, and throws light on the functionaries to whom the execution was entrusted. We find that it is from the year 1166 that the regular series of "Nova "Placita et Novæ Conventiones" before the justices in the several counties begins. The earlier rolls contain every year "Nova placita et Novæ conventiones,"[2] but these were apparently transacted before the sheriffs, and contain fiscal rather than judicial accounts. They also contain the mention of occasional placita before the justiciar or the justice of the forests. The roll of the 31st Henry I. contains evidence of a nearly complete visitation

The Pipe Rolls testify to the carrying out of the assize.

Earlier instances of eyres on the rolls.

[1] Gervase at least supposed that the assize renewed at Northampton in 1176 was the *Constitutions* of Clarendon. "A.D. 1176, rex Hen-"ricus convocatis regni primoribus "apud Northamptoniam renovavit "assisam de Clarendonia eamque "præcepit observari pro cujus exse-"crandis institutis beatus Thomas "martyr Cantuariensis usque in "septennium exulavit." c. 1433.

[2] *Nova placita* are the pleas of the year to which the roll belongs. It is therefore only when we find *nova placita* held by the itinerating justices that we can infer that an *iter* was held in that year. Madox, of course, knew this, but in his lists of the itinerant justices he has neglected in the text to mark which judges belonged to previous *iters*, and which to the year in question. I have tried to make these matters clearer in the lists which I have given in the notes, which are taken from the Pipe Rolls themselves. Of these invaluable records there are in print those of the 31st of Henry I., 2, 3, and 4 Hen. II., 1 Rich. I., and 3 John: besides which the whole series of Northumberland accounts are published by Mr. Hodgson. Mr. Stapleton's wonderful Introductions to the kindred Norman rolls are full of interesting information: and Madox's work contains a mine of details in most elaborate order. Strictly speaking, the "placita" were the fines inflicted by the judges, the "conven-"tiones," the voluntary payments made by the parties to obtain a decision. Dialogus, p. 49.

Eyres of the reign of Henry I.

of the kingdom by Geoffrey Clinton in association with other judges. In twenty-two counties out of the twenty-six whose accounts are recorded, he appears as judge, the persons associated with him being generally men of local as well as official importance. A few notices of a similar kind are found in the earlier rolls of Henry II.[1] In 1156 the constable Henry of Essex made a visitation of most of the southern counties, the chancellor holding pleas with him in Essex and Kent and the great justiciar in Lincolnshire.[2] Between the fifth and ninth years of the reign, William FitzJohn made a similar circuit, probably on forest business, and in the eighth year Richard de Lucy, the justiciar, held pleas in Cumberland, which seem to have been of much importance, probably as being the first legal settlement of the county after its restoration by the Scots.

Earlier eyres of the reign of Henry II.

Regular eyres from 1166.

It is from the year 1166 that these placita are annual and general, the judges being, as in the earlier visitations, the chief officers of the court. In that year and the following the pleas in all the counties are held before Richard de Lucy, associated in seventeen out of eighteen

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[1] William of Newburgh refers to Henry II.'s judicial reforms as beginning early in his reign: "ut "legum vigor in Anglia revivisceret "qui sub rege Stephano exstinctus "sepultusque videbatur, cura pro- "pensiore sategit." Hist. ii. 1.

[2] In 1156 there are references to *placita*, which may have been held in 1155 or earlier by Henry of Essex in Somerset, Dorset, Devon, Hants, Wilts, and Sussex; by Gregory, the bishop of Chichester, and Ralph Picot in Middlesex, Surrey, Bucks, and Beds; by the archbishop of York in Yorkshire, and by the chancellor as in the text. In the following year there are new pleas and conventions, but as no judges are mentioned they were probably held by the sheriffs. In the 6th year there are references to old pleas of the forest held by William FitzJohn in Devon, Somerset, and Hereford; in the 7th, to similar pleas by the same in Hereford and Yorkshire; in the 9th, to new pleas held by Richard de Luci in Cumberland, he being then great justiciar; and by Alan de Nevill (of the forest) in Oxfordshire. In the 10th, there are no new pleas or conventions recorded. In the 11th, the references are only to the old pleas of William FitzJohn and Richard de Lucy.

with Geoffrey de Mandeville.[1] In 1168 a commission of four barons of the exchequer[2] was substituted for the justiciar and his companion. These visited, jointly or separately, the whole of England, and both assessed the aid for the marriage of the king's daughter, and heard pleas. The same judges repeated their visitation in 1169,[3] 1170,[4] and 1171. In the eighteenth year (1172) it does not appear whether the scutage for Ireland was levied by the sheriffs or by the justices, nor before whom the pleas were held; but in the nineteenth year[5] a tallage on the demesne was assessed by six companies of the barons, and the principle of the circuits was for the first time introduced. The following year the business was transacted by the sheriffs in association with a clerk, and under the writ of the justiciar. It does not appear quite certainly whether these were judicial or merely

Justices in itinere, judicial and fiscal.

[1] Madox, *History of the Exchequer* (ed. 1711). Geoffrey de Mandeville died Oct. 21, 1167. Foss, *Judges*, i. 274. But as the fiscal year ended at Michaelmas he may have finished his eyre; but the pleas recorded are in most cases (if not all) the arrears of 1166.

[2] A°. 14 Hen. II. Richard archdeacon of Poictiers, Wido dean of Waltham, Reginald Warenne, and William Basset held pleas and collected the aid *pur fille marier* in all the south and midland counties. Richard de Lucy held pleas in Yorkshire, Northumberland, and Cumberland; and in Kent Henry FitzGerold was joined with the commission. These are criminal pleas as well as fiscal.

[3] A°. 15 Hen. II. The same four barons, with John Cumin and Gervase de Cornhill in Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Wilts.

[4] The inquest on the sheriffs of 1170 was not held by members of the Curia Regis, but by a special commission of laymen and ecclesiastics; they are, however, called *barones errantes*. Gervase, 1409.

[5] A°. 19. 1. In the Eastern counties, Seffrid the archdeacon, Wimar the chaplain, Adam de Gernemue, and Robert Mantell.

2. In Wessex, Wido the dean, Hugh de Bocland, Richard Wilton, Will. Ruffus.

3. In Kent, Bucks, and Beds, Richard the archdeacon, Reginald Warenne, and Nicolas the chaplain.

4. In West Mercia (Glouc., Heref., &c.), John Cumin, Walter Map, and Turstin FitzSimon.

5. East Mercia (Northants, Notts, &c.), William Basset, and John Malduit, and John of Dover, clerk.

6. In Surrey and the home district, Reg. Warenne and Gervase de Cornhill.

Eyres of the justices.

fiscal iters.[1] In the 21st year the whole kingdom was visited by four of the judges, Ranulf Glanvill and Hugh de Cressi taking the north and east, William de Lanvallei and Thomas Basset the south and west.[2]

Inquest on the sheriffs in 1170.

It would seem that these annual visitations of the justices proved ineffectual to check the oppressions and exactions of the sheriffs. The judges were unable in the absence of the king, and in the disturbed state of public feeling, to put any check on the sheriffs, supported as they were by local influence and prescriptive authority. The complaints of the people became so loud, that in a great council held at London shortly after Easter 1170, the king sent a strong commission of barons errant, chosen from the clergy and nobles, and unconnected with the Exchequer or the Curia, to examine into the conduct of the sheriffs. The instructions for this inquiry, which have been several times referred to above, are given by Gervase in his chronicle.[3] They involve a strict scrutiny into the accounts and legal proceedings of the counties since the king's departure from England, and into the judgments passed under the assize of Clarendon. The work was speedily completed: the commissioners brought in their returns on 14th of June,[4] in time for the coronation of the young king. Gervase does not state the result of the inquiry, but we find from our author that the king removed all the sheriffs and

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[1] The list is different for each county, and is given in Madox, p. 84.

[2] See Madox, p. 85.

[3] Gervase, 1409. Robert de Monte, ad 1170, and our author, vol. i. p. 5. Henry seems to have contemplated a similar measure in Normandy in 1162. He collected a parliament at Rouen, "querimo-" "niam faciens de episcopis et eorum" "ministris et vicecomitibus suis." R. de Monte, ad 1162. The oaths to be taken by the juries are given in S. T. C. ii. 262.

[4] Gervase, 1411. Gervase seems to think that this inquest was made merely to frighten the nobles and sheriffs into taking the oath to the young king, "et sic timore cul-" "parum deposito omnes ad propria" "redierunt."

bailiffs from their offices. The Pipe Rolls furnish us with one or two cases of heavy fines imposed on the sheriffs under this inquest.[1] Henry, however, as we learn, did subsequently restore several of them, and they revenged themselves on the people by acting more tyrannically than ever.[2]

Sheriffs fined and displaced.

It is by looking carefully through the lists of the sheriffs who went out of office and came into it in 1170, that we get the clearest notion of what was done.[3] It

Legal officers substituted for the feudal magnates.

[1] The case given in Madox is that of William Basset, who made a fine of 100 marks, "pro fine quem fecit " cum rege de jurata facta super " eum de communi Inquisitione " vicecomitum Angliæ per Walte- " rum de Insula et Eustatium " filium Stephani." Pipe Rolls of 19 and 20 of Hen. II., Madox, p. 96. He must also have been dismissed from the sheriffalty.

[2] See our Chronicle, vol. i. p. 5.

[3] The following list will show this. The first column containing the names of the sheriffs who went out of office in the 16th year, the second those who continued, and the third those who were put in in the 16th.

—	Went out.	Stayed in.	Came in.
Berks -	Adam de Catmer	- - -	Hugh de Bocland.
Oxon -	Adam de Catmer	- - -	Alard Banastre.
Beds and Bucks.	Hugh de Leya and William FitzRichard.	- - -	David the archdeacon and William Fitz Richard.
Cambridge and Hunts.	Philip de Daventry.	- - -	Ebrard de Beach and Warin de Bassingbourn.
Cumberland	- - -	Robert FitzTroit.	
Derby and Notts.	Robert FitzRalph.	- - -	William FitzRalph.
Devon and Cornwall.	- - -	Robert FitzBernard.	
Dorset and Somerset.	Robert de Puckerell.	- - -	Alured de Lincoln.
Essex and Herts.	Nicolas, clerk, and Stephen de Beauchamp.	- - -	Robert Mantell.
Hants -	Richard FitzTurstin.	- - -	Hugh de Gundeville.
Leicester & Warwick.	William Basset -	- - -	Bertram de Verdun.
Lincoln -	Philip de Kyme	- - -	Walter de Grimsby.
London and Middlesex.	R. FitzBerengar and Will. FitzIsabell.	- - -	John Bienvenutte and Baldwin clericus.

in the office of sheriff.

must be remembered that almost all the hereditary sheriffdoms had been abolished before this time; probably before the 31st of Henry I., when we find the administration of large clusters of counties in the hands of a few great officers of state. Under Henry II., however, the several counties or pairs of counties, had recovered their several sheriffs, and these officers were in most cases local magnates, and apparently held the position for life. A very clean sweep was made of these in 1170, and it is most important to observe that, in the place of these unjust stewards, Henry substituted members of the Curia Regis and Exchequer, a measure which

—	Went out.	Stayed in.	Came in.
Northumberland.	William de Vesci	- - -	Roger Stuteville.
Norfolk and Suffolk.	Ogier dapifer -	- - -	B. Glanvill, Wimar the chaplain, and Will. Bardulf.
Northants -	Simon FitzPeter	- - -	Robert FitzSawin.
Rutland -	- - -	Richard Humet.	
Salop -	Geoffrey de Vere	- - -	Will. clericus.
Stafford -	- - -	Hervey Stratton.	
Surrey -	- - -	Gervase de Cornhill.	
Sussex -	Roger Hai -	- - -	Reginald Warren.
Wilts -	- - -	Richard de Wilton.	
Worcester -	William de Beauchamp.	- - -	Hugo Puhier.
Lancashire	W. de Vesci -	- - -	Roger de Herleberga.
Gloucester -	- - -	Gilb. Pipard.	
Hereford -	William de Beauchamp.	- - -	Walter clericus.
Yorkshire -	Ranulf Glanvill	- - -	Robert de Stuteville.

Of those who were dismissed, Simon FitzPeter, Ogier, and Philip of Daventry had occupied inferior situations in the Curia Regis; William Basset had been and afterwards was a justice, but on this occasion was deposed and fined. Of the others (except Glanvill, to whom Robert de Stuteville was probably a deputy,) no more is heard. Of the second column, only Troit and Stratton were not members of the king's household; of the third, sixteen out of the whole were employed at the Exchequer. Compare Foss's *Judges* and Fuller's *Worthies, passim.* In the cases of Worcester Salop, and Hereford, the persons in the third column are the acting substitutes for the sheriffs.

had the direct effect of placing the county courts under the royal influence and securing their administration by judges acquainted with the law. The itinerant judges who served between 1170 and 1176 were thus members of the same body which supplied the sheriffs, and all ought to have proceeded smoothly. The disturbed and disorganized condition of the country consequent on the rebellion and its suppression, will account for the necessity of changes.

The county courts are brought into better order.

The year 1176, the 22nd of Henry II., is marked by a further step. In the great council of Northampton, held January 25,[1] it was determined to add very considerably to the staff of the itinerating courts, and to adopt the principle of subdivision which had been found so useful in the collection of the tallage in 1173. The kingdom was accordingly divided into six circuits, to each of which were assigned three judges.[2] Most of these eighteen judges were at the same time sheriffs and barons of the Exchequer, representatives of the system which had been enforced in 1170. It is in reference to them that the title Justitiæ Itinerantes[3] first appears in the Pipe Rolls, although it was earlier given to the judges in eyre under the assize of Clarendon. For their direction, a new recension of that statute was passed, and from this

Assize of Northampton in 1176.

Regulation of the circuits of the justices.

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[1] R. de Diceto, 588.

[2] "Igitur post naufragum regni "statum pace reformata studuit "iterum rex avita tempora reno- "vare, et eligens discretos viros, "secuit regnum in sex partes, ut "eas electi judices quos errantes "vocamus perlustrarent et jura "destituta restituerent. Facientes "ergo sui copiam in singulis comi- "tatibus, et iis qui se læsos puta- "bant justitiæ plenitudinem exhi- "bentes, pauperum laboribus et "sumptibus pepercerunt." Dialogus de Scaccario, p. 38. The pecuniary fines of these cyres were noted in a roll, which was transcribed into the Great roll, with the names of the justices at the heading, p. 39.

[3] The name occurs in the Dialogus first in reference to the assessing justices, "Fiunt interdum per "comitatus communes assisæ a jus- "titiis itinerantibus quos deambu- "latorios vel perlustrantes judices "nominamus," pp. 23, 44. They are called also, p. 36, "Perambu- "lantes judices."

epoch the institution of itinerant justices is stated in th law books to date.[1]

Eyres under the assize of Northampton.

Notwithstanding the importance given to the assize of Northampton, it is curious that the arrangement remained in force for only two years. The itinerant justices went their circuits in 1176 and apparently 1177, unless indeed it may have been that their visitation fell partly in the 22nd and partly in the 23rd year[2] of the reign, and so appears on the roll for both years. In the 23rd year, the same judges were employed as barons of the Exchequer in levying an aid, and for this purpose they travelled in different combinations, and made only four circuits.[3]

New changes in 1178.

In 1178, the king made inquiry into the proceedings of these judges, and finding, according to our chronicle, "that the country and the men of the country were "greatly oppressed by the multiplicity of the justices, "for they were eighteen in number; by the advice of "the wise men of the realm chose five only, two clerks "and three laymen, all members of his private house-"hold. These five he ordered to hear all the complaints "of the kingdom, and to do right, and that they should "not depart from the king's court, but remain there "to hear the complaints of the homines, so that if any

[1] The list of judges who actually went on circuit in 1176 will be found in Madox, p. 94, and agrees almost exactly with that given by our author, vol. i. p. 107. It is in the roll of this year that the judges are first called "justitiæ itine-"rantes."

[2] The 22nd fiscal year would end at Michaelmas 1176. Dial. de Scacc. 37.

[3] A°. 23. For assessing the aid.— 1. Ralph FitzStephen, Turstin Fitz-Simon, and William Ruffus in all the Western counties.
2. Robert Mantell and Ralph Brit in all the Eastern ones.
3. Roger FitzReinfrid and Gervase de Cornhill in Bucks, Beds, Sussex, and Kent.
4. William FitzRalph, William Basset, and Michael Belet in the North and Midland counties.
A°. 24. Justices. — 1. Roger FitzReinfrid, Ralph FitzStephen, Robert Mantell, and William Fitz-Stephen in all the Western counties.
2. William Basset, Robert de Vallibus, and Michael Belet in the Northern counties.

"question should come up amongst them, which could "not be brought to an end by them, it should be pre- "sented to the royal hearing, and terminated as it should "please the king and the wiser men of the kingdom."[1]

Reduction of the number of judges.

Question as to the force of this act.

It is by no means easy to determine the exact force of this measure. It seems impossible to doubt that the eighteen were identical with the judges of the year 1176, and that the intention was to prevent them from sitting in the Curia Regis. If the measure of 1176 really added largely to the number of the judges, and was not merely a rearrangement of their functions, there can be no doubt that the increased number was burdensome, and that the king intended to establish a new tribunal of five, to the exclusion of the rest. Accordingly the measure has been understood with great probability to imply the erection of a bank or bench in the Curia, to which the title of Curia Regis subsequently became restricted, and which is the original of the present Court of King's Bench.

Discarding of some of the old judges.

But it seems probable that this act was attended by the deposition of most of the eighteen from their judicial functions altogether, or their relegation to subordinate places in the Exchequer, for the iters were served in 1178 and 1179[2] by eight judges only, two of whom were new appointments; whilst on the redistribution of circuits, which was made in 1179 and carried out in 1180, Ranulf Glanvill alone of the eighteen judges of 1176 was reappointed. Many, however, of the itinerants of 1176 subsequently reappear in the transactions of the Exchequer.

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[1] Vol. i., p. 207.

[2] A°. 25. The judges itinerant are Ralph FitzStephen, William FitzStephen, Roger FitzReinfrid, and Robert Mantell, William Basset, Robert de Vaux, Michael Belet, and Bertram de Verdun; the former four in the Eastern, and the latter in the Midland counties. Of these eight, Michael Belet and Robert Mantell were not in the list for 1176.

Legal measures of 1179.

The year 1179 is memorable on several grounds.[1] Soon after Easter Richard de Lucy, who had been justiciar since 1167, retired into his monastery at Lesnes,[2] and the king was left with his hands full of legal business. He almost immediately called a great council at Windsor, and in it the following important acts were transacted. The kingdom was rearranged into four new circuits for the eyres of the justices. The place of Richard de Lucy was not immediately supplied, but three bishops were chosen as chief justices, one of whom presided over each of the three southern circuits, in conjunction with one of the king's clerks and three other officers. To the fourth circuit, which included the whole of the north of England, were appointed six judges, one of whom was Ranulf Glanvill, who was probably already designated to the justiciarship; and these six judges of

Rearrangement of circuits.

[1] The passage of Ralph de Diceto on the legal matters of this year deserves most attentive study. It is too long to be given entire, but I will note the principal facts. 1. It was in order to check the selfishness of the sheriffs that the king originally instituted the provincial visitations, "certis in locis jurisdictiones "aliis fidelibus suis in regno com-"misit." 2. By-and-by, "rursus "aliquot temporum labente curri-"culo," the king tried by what class of judges justice was most faithfully administered. "Abbates "modo, comites modo, capitaneos "modo, domesticos modo, fami-"liarissimos modo, causis audien-"dis et examinandis præposuit." Having done this, he determined to employ "homines . . qui licet "viverent inter homines superin-"tendentes hominibus, aliquid ha-"bebant, aliquid sentirent, aliquid "auderent plus homine." 3. In accordance with this resolution he appointed the bishops of Winchester, Ely, and Norwich to be *archijustitiarios*. These ecclesiastics are not to be blamed for following the example of the great Roger of Salisbury. 4. "Ab episcopis igi-"tur supradictis et a conjudicibus "eorundem querelis justitia me-"diante decisis, reservatis quibus-"dam ad principis audientiam, regi "ratio redditur administrationis vi. "kal. Sept. apud Westmonasterium." 5. The writer understands this as authorizing bishops to preside in the county courts, *in comitiis*. 6. An investigation of the ecclesiastical courts took place the same year, and the archbishop of Canterbury had to swear that he would keep his hands free from bribes. R. de Dic. 605–607.

[2] He died in July. Gerv. 1456.

the northern circuit are stated apparently to be the six judges appointed to hear the complaints of the people in the Curia Regis, and answer to the five justices of the bench appointed in 1178, with Glanvill at their head. The business of the eyre was quickly transacted, and although the council of Windsor was only held about Whitsuntide, the account of the kingdom was brought to the king at Westminster on 27th of August.

Eyre of 1179.

With this act ends the series of measures taken by Henry II.[1] to secure the administration of justice in the counties.[2] He had withdrawn the jurisdiction from the sheriffs and placed it in the hands of a travelling court. When this failed he had removed the sheriffs from their posts and substituted for them members of his own council. He had further instituted an especial tribunal of itinerant justices, and divided the kingdom into six circuits. He had superseded this arrangement by a special enactment, in which the judges were associated with confidential members of the clerical and curial bodies. From this time we lose sight of his direct agency in this respect; but the four circuits of the king's judges were established, the importance of the territorial franchises was broken down, the character of the sheriff completely subordinated to that of the judge. By the assize of Richard I. these measures were carried further, the sheriffs were forbidden to act as justiciars in their own counties, and by Magna Charta they were restrained from holding pleas of the crown at all. The

Summary of the proceedings of Henry II. as to the eyres of the judges.

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[1] The names of the judges of this iter will be found at vol. i., p. 238. It will be seen that only five of the names are those of the judges of former years, viz., Ranulf Glanvill, of an. 15; Gilbert Pipard, of an. 22; Thomas Basset, of an. 21; John Comin, of ann. 15; Michael Belet, of an. 24. Mr. Foss adds to these Richard the treasurer, Ralph Brit, and Nicolas the chaplain; but these had only acted as assessors of the tallage in 1177. See above, p. lxx.

[2] Henry's personal share in these reforms is noticed by the historians: "Quoties autem judicibus mollius "indigniusve agentibus provincia- "lium querimoniis pulsabatur, pro- "visionis regiæ remedium adhibe- "bat." W. Newb. ii. 1.

itinerant justices were restored by the same act, but within a few years their visitations became septennial, and they were gradually and finally superseded by the devolution of their function on justices of assize.

Ranulf Glanvill, justiciar.

The appointment of Ranulf Glanvill to the office of justiciar in 1180 probably relieved the king from the necessity of that constant legislation on judicial matters which marks the previous ten years. It is another important coincidence that this appointment synchronizes so nearly with our first clear indication of the existence of a limited tribunal erected in the Curia Regis, to which very shortly the name of Curia Regis became appropriated, and with which the famous book of Glanvill has so important a connexion.

II. The origin of the Curia Regis.

The Curia Regis in its earlier and wider sense was doubtless the Common Council of the nation, the assembly of feudal tenants of the king which succeeded to the functions of the Witenagemote, and which was held three times a year by the Conqueror. But although this council acted on occasion as a court of justice, its judicial functions and name were soon shared with that small portion of it which remained continuously about the king's person. In this restricted sense it consisted of the great officers of the household, the justiciar, chancellor, treasurer, and barons of the Exchequer, with such of his clerks as the king might summon, and it probably included the stewards of the honours and constables of the castles which were in the king's hands, or in demesne. It was on the justiciar and the officers of the Exchequer under him who bear the title of both justices and barons that the principal burden of judicial proceedings fell, and to them, as we have just seen, the commissions of provincial jurisdiction were entrusted.

Henry substitutes a committee of five.

We have seen that in 1178 Henry substituted a tribunal of five judges for the collective council of the Curia, with the direction, "Quod illi quinque audirent "omnes clamores regni et rectum facerent et quod a

"Curia Regis non recederent;" and that this limitation has been very reasonably regarded as the institution of the Curia Regis in its third sense, in which it may be defined as a judicial committee of the king's judicial council, and which is probably the tribunal described by Glanvill as "justiciarii sedentes in Banco."[1]

Origin of the court of King's Bench.

Question as to the persons employed in the Curia Regis.

Previously to 1178 all the members of the Curia Regis seem to have exercised the judicial function in the Curia and in the exchequer, as well as on the eyres, generally, as on the eyres, in committees of three or four.[2] Now it would appear that the central jurisdiction was entrusted to a single committee of five. As the six who were appointed in nearly the same words, the following year, to be justices of the Curia Regis, were apparently different persons from these five, with the exception of Glanvill, we may infer that the appointment of this committee was an annual or even a terminal one, and that the judges of the Curia in this new form, or, as we may call them, the justices of the bench, were a temporary selection from the whole body of judges, who still discharged the offices of itinerant justices and barons of the exchequer. That the itinerant justices did not lose their places in the exchequer is clear, from the fact that their names appear in the lists of persons before whom fines were levied in the Curia Regis at a later period.[3]

We have unfortunately no account of further changes in the constitution of the Curia Regis during this reign,

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[1] Glanvill, ii. 6, viii. 1, and xi. 1.

[2] See examples from an. 21 Hen. II., downwards, in Madox, pp. 64 and 65. The judges of 1176 held *placita curiæ* in quite different combinations from those on which they went their circuits; but the names are the same. The *placita curiæ*, given by Madox, are held in 1175 by William FitzRalph, Bertram de Verdun, and Thomas Basset; in 1176, by William FitzRalph, Bertram de Verdun, and William Basset; in 1177, by Walter FitzRobert, Hugh de Cressi, and Robert Mantell; but it is difficult to argue from such scanty data; and much information is not to be found in the rolls themselves.

[3] See the Fines published by Mr. Hunter for the Record Commission in 1835 and 1844.

Obscurity of the origin of the Three Courts.

nor, when the existing records of that court begin,[1] can we see quite clearly who were the presiding judges. The origin of the bench of common pleas is also very obscure. The final separation of the three courts originated in the direction of the 17th chapter of Magna Charta, but it does not appear that even then a distinct staff of judges was appointed to each tribunal. Probably until late in the reign of Henry III. the same persons continued as before to sit in the three different courts in distinct capacities.

III. The king's council.

The same passage in our Chronicle in which the original institution of this limited tribunal is traced, affords an indication of a still higher court of justice to which questions might be referred which demanded exceptional treatment; that of the king in council, which contains the germ both of the equitable tribunals of the country, of the judicial power of the chancellor, and possibly of that of the privy council. The words are, "ita "ut si aliqua quæstio inter eos veniret quæ per eos in "finem duci non posset, auditui regi præsentaretur, et "sicut ei et sapientioribus regni placeret, terminaretur."

Composition of the king's council.

According to this theory, which was first brought forward by Mr. Duffus Hardy,[2] this private concilium regis was, prior to the development of parliament, the highest tribunal in the kingdom. "It was not only composed of "the wisdom of the nation, but also the great officers "of state; the chancellor, treasurer, justices of either "bench, and barons of the exchequer, were all active "members of it."[3] If this description is applicable to the earlier stages of its existence, it clearly was little more than a re-appearance of the Curia Regis in another shape.

Number of councillors limited by circumstances.

Considering the limited number of councillors whom the king could summon to such a court, we may suppose that it was really the whole body of the judges

[1] Edited by Sir Francis Palgrave, in two volumes, 1835.

[2] Introduction to the Close Rolls, pp. 95–105, octavo edition.

[3] Hardy, from Sir M. Hale, Introduction, &c., p. 100.

and ministers joined in the examination of points too knotty for the determination of the bench; perhaps reviewing the decisions of their own committees.

The justiciar and the chancellor.

It is probable that during the reign of Henry, who had a great aptitude for judicial functions, and was fond of administering justice in person, the king himself rather than the justiciar would preside in this court. During the reign of Richard, William Longchamp united the offices of regent, justiciar, and chancellor; and from the time of his death the office of justiciar was political rather than judicial. John, like his father, occasionally administered justice in his own person, although the justiciarship possessed much the same character as it had under his father. But Hubert de Burgh was the last who possessed the proper status of the ancient justiciar; with the division of the three courts emerges at once the increased importance of the chancellor, and the distinct equitable jurisdiction of the council. The chancellor was inferior to the justiciar as long as the old constitution of the Curia Regis remained. When the council succeeded to its place, the justiciar sank into the chief justice of a single court, and the chancellor became, in the absence of the king, the natural president of the council.[1]

Earlier character of the chancery.

The importance of the chancery, previous to the establishment of the independent judicature of the chancellor, was indirect, perhaps, but by no means insignificant. In its origin, it was the secretarial[2] department of the Curia Regis, and of that court the chancellor was a very important member; he kept the seal, and originally drew up the writs. How great influence he might exercise on the mind of the king, so long as the latter took a personal share in the judicature, we may easily imagine; nor was this all: the chancellor might introduce modifications into the very terms of the decisions of the court.

Accidental influence of the chancellor.

[1] Hardy, Introduction, &c., p. 105.

[2] Cf. Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, i. 177–179.

Thomas Becket as chancellor.

The theory that the importance of the chancellor owed something to the personal influence of Thomas Becket with Henry II. has, at different times, had able supporters; and a passage of John of Salisbury, in which the chancellor is said to have cancelled unjust decisions,[1] has been adduced in proof of his exercising a rudimentary equitable jurisdiction at this early time. The play on the word is not, however, peculiar to this case, and, if it means anything, must refer to the official rather than to the personal influence of the chancellor, the power of wording and recording the decisions of the sovereign.

Did the chancellorship attain an increase of dignity in Becket?

Another theory, turning on the same point, maintains that the chancellorship in Becket's person was advanced from the sixth to the second rank of precedence after the king; but of this I can find no definite proof. The functions of the chancellor were more strictly connected with the administration of justice than those of any other officer of the Curia, except the justiciar. The constable or the marshal or the chamberlain, merely as such, could hardly have taken precedence of the keeper of the great seal, and the chancellor was the second official in the kingdom before those offices had become attached to houses of first-rate baronial rank.

Whether, after this was the case, the chancellor would have maintained his precedence, unless he had been also a bishop, may, I think, be doubted. From the very early date at which the title of second [2] from the king is given to Becket, it seems almost impossible to suppose that the precedence was given him for personal reasons; and the

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[1] Joh. Salisb. Enth. in Policr. "Hic est qui regni leges cancellat "iniquas et mandata pii principis "æqua facit."

[2] Becket is called "secundus "post regem in quatuor regnis," by Peter of Celles. S. T. C. iv. 169. The chancellor was next in dignity to the justiciar, who was "primus in "regno." Dialogus de Scaccario, 8, 9. No argument can be drawn from the signatures of charters, in which the name of the chancellor occupies the same place under Stephen as under Henry II. The names stand generally thus. (1.) The bishops and abbots. (2.) The chancellor and chaplains. (3.) The earls and barons. The justiciar signs merely as a baron, and the chancellor in his position as a clergyman.

obscurity into which the office falls after his resignation seems to indicate that it gained nothing from him. Ralph de Warneville, the next on the list of chancellors, is scarcely known, except by the mention of his resignation. He lived away from court, in Normandy, and discharged his high function by means of a vice-chancellor.[1] Geoffrey, the king's son, received the seal as an endowment, the actual work being done as before. The office of chancellor was purchased by William Longchamp, for somewhat less than Geoffrey Rufus had paid for it to Henry I.[2] It is probably to William Longchamp, rather than to Becket, that the office was indebted for an increase of its practical influence. He was at once justiciar and chancellor, and, as under his tenure the chancery assumed a new and distinct character, so from this time the precedence and influence of the function was fully and permanently recognized.

Ralph de Warneville, chancellor.

Geoffrey, chancellor.

William Longchamp.

[1] "Radulfus de Warnevilla, Rothomagensis sacrista, thesaurarius "Eboracensis, constitutus est Angliæ cancellarius; qui modum "vivendi parum a privato dissimilem, quem prius semper habuerat "non immutavit, malens Waltero "de Constanciis, canonico Rotho"magensi, vices in Curia Regis "committere, quam circa latus "principis militantes expensis pro"fusioribus cautioribus mensis, ad "sui gloriam nominis propagan"dam per dies singulos invitare." R. de Diceto, 567, ad 1173. Walter of Coutances ought to appear in the list of the Lords Keepers. He is called Sigillarius, Dic. 609.

[2] The price of the chancellorship of the younger king, in 1176, was 1,100 marks. R. de Diceto, 589. Our author says 11,000, i. 122; but it will be observed that the reading depends on only the inferior MS. The Julius MS. has a blank for the number of thousands, which the writer of the Vitellius MS. may have filled up from R. de Diceto. If the reading be right the sum would be 7,333*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*.; which seems as much beyond the mark as 733*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. seems below it. The price of the treasurership in 1159 was 400*l*. On the statement of Foliot that Becket bought the chancellorship, see Robertson's *Becket*, p. 322. I think it most likely to be true; and that although Henry chose him for his merits, he made him pay his price, as Richard did with William Longchamp under similar circumstances, allowing him to have it for 3,000*l*., although there was another bid at 4,000*l*. Geoffrey Rufus bought it for 7,000*l*. (Ann. Margam, ad 1122), of which 3,006*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. was unpaid in 31 Hen. I., *Pipe Roll*. William Longchamp paid 3,000*l*. for it in 1189. R. Devizes, p. 9.

Origin of the judicial power of the chancellor.

But, however the honorary importance of the chancellor arose, it seems certain that his actual judicature sprang out of his office as president of the king's council.[1] It belongs to the investigator of our later legal history to examine how this took place, as well as to decide the steps by which, from the union of the council with the House of Lords in the Magnum Concilium, arose that confusion of powers, which ended on the one hand in giving to the council legislative powers, and, on the other, in giving to the House of Lords that appellate jurisdiction which belonged more strictly to the council; whilst the court of the council itself, after retaining its original character in the court of Star Chamber, has, by various changes of law and circumstance, reached the present time in the shape of the judicial committee of the privy council.

Modern developments of the council.

IV. Legal enactments of Henry II.

The loss of the original text of nearly all the measures by which Henry II. introduced his changes into the customs of the law, precludes the possibility of any such chronological arrangement of them as I have attempted in the foregoing sketch of his judicial innovations. It is on these measures for the most part that his right depends to the title of the founder of the common law. They were important and numerous, even if we exclude from the calculation those changes of custom which, appearing in his reign, and not being traceable in the remains of earlier legislation, are attributed to him as their author. To this latter class may belong the exchange of the ancient rule of inheritance for the feudal practice of primogeniture,[2] the disuse of the English language in charters, the depression of the lowest class of freemen into a state of villenage,[3] and the abolition of the in-

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[1] See Palgrave's *Essay on the Original Authority of the King's Council*, London, 1834.

[2] Geoffrey's assize of 1185, instituting the inheritance by primogeniture in Brittany, is printed in Palgrave's *Commonwealth*, ii. ccccxxxv., from Lobineau, ii., pp. 317, 318.

[3] Dialogus, p. 28, "Ascriptitii "de regni jure . . . . . licite ven "dantur."

vidious distinction between the English and the Norman freeman.[1] To these I might perhaps add the extinction of the provincial differences of the Mercian, Danish, and West Saxon customs, but the principle of money compensations for injuries,[2] on the carrying out of which most of the provincial distinctions depend, and which became obsolete at the same time, probably involved most of them in its abolition; whilst others of the local usages continued long afterwards.

Probable consequences of his legislation.

Existing remains.

Henry's recognized acts of legislation are to be deduced from the text of the various assizes which have come down to us, and from the fragments of the lost ones which are imbedded in the work of Glanvill. The former class are of course as closely connected with his changes in the provincial jurisdictions, as the latter are with his institution or remodelling of the Curia Regis. Any attempt to evolve the particulars of the changes from a comparison between Glanvill and the Anglo-Saxon laws, is, notwithstanding the apparent authority of Madox and Hallam,[3] entirely futile. The two are so far different in subject matter as to be incapable of direct comparison: Glanvill's work is simply a book of process; the laws are for the most part the declarations of pains and penalties. Glanvill is a handbook for the Curia Regis, a court which he himself was chiefly instrumental in creating or developing. The Anglo-Saxon laws, so far as they are declaratory of process at all, are the rules of the courts which existed long before the Curia Regis, and the machinery of which, so far from being superseded by the machinery of Glanvill's formulas, existed for centuries afterwards. Hallam, in the form of a conjecture, has stated what is a self-evident fact to any one who will compare the two.[4]

No comparison can be instituted between Glanvill and the early laws.

[1] Dialogus, p. 26, see above, p. xxxiii., note.

[2] Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, i. 48.

[3] Middle Ages, ii. 339, &c.

[4] Middle Ages, ii. 341.

Institution of juries.

The same spirit in which Henry was determined, whilst retaining the machinery of the ancient courts of law, to substitute his own servants for the magistrates of the county and the lords of the franchises, appears in his amalgamation of English and Norman customs in criminal trials. By the first clause of the assize of Clarendon, the justices are directed to make inquiry by twelve lawful men of the hundred, and by four lawful men of every township, by oath that they will speak the truth, if in the hundred or in their township, there be any man who is publicly accounted or known to be guilty of robbery, murder, or theft, or a receiver of robbers, murderers, or thieves. Thus indicted, the criminal is to go at once to the ordeal of water, and if he fails, to undergo the legal punishment. In this direction the ancient system of the compurgatory oath is, except in the boroughs, ipso facto abolished;[1] but the presentment by twelve lawful men is retained from the Anglo-Saxon law.[2] Their verdict is that of witnesses according to the Anglo-Saxon fashion: but the process is an inquest under oath, according to the custom of the Normans.

Enforcement of frankpledge and the law of strangers.

The enforcement of the law of frankpledge in the same assize, is coupled with the direction to sheriffs to enter all franchises for the purpose of view.[3] The directions as to strangers are adapted closely from the old law. The court which is to be held before the itinerant justices, is the court of the county under the presidency of the sheriff; the point of contact between the Curia Regis and the shire-mote.

New institutions of Henry II.

It is from Glanvill that we learn the institution of the new process in civil trials; the enactment of the great

[1] On this very interesting question see Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, chap. vii., and on the whole subject, chap. viii., p. 259, &c.

[2] Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, i. 257. "Assembled according to the "Anglo-Saxon law and sworn "according to the Norman law."

[3] See Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, i. 118, 257, 297.

assize,[1] and of the recognitions of Mortdancester[2] and Novel disseisin;[3] the system of fines: the distinctive character of courts of record;[4] the inclusion of usury in the matters of presentment;[5] the process of inquiry into purprestures.[6]

Forest jurisdiction.

Side by side with these national jurisdictions and national jurisprudence was the administration of the forests: a department which was understood to be peculiarly, immediately and exclusively in the king's hands,[7] and in which Henry acted with more severity and in a more thoroughly tyrannical spirit than can be traced in any other of his acts, private or public.[8] I

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[1] The text of the Great Assize is lost. It is called by Glanvill, ii. 7., "Regale quoddam benefi-"cium clementia principis de con-"silio procerum populis indultum." And the provisions of it are quoted at ii. 17–19.

[2] The text of this assize is lost; it is referred to in Glanvill as, "constitutio regni quæ assisa no-"minatur." Lib. xiii. 1. Glanvill mentions an "Assisa Regni," (lib. x. c. 12) forbidding suits concerning the debts or tenements of laymen to be decided in a court Christian "ratione fidei interpo-"sitæ." This Assisa Regni is the Constitutions of Clarendon, c. 15.

[3] Lib. viii. 9., "per assisam de "consilio regni inde factam." Compare, however, with that chapter the assize of Northampton, c. 3., and of Clarendon, c. 18, and the laws of William the Conqueror, i. 48.

[4] Cf. Glanvill, vii. 16., with Dialog. de Scacc. p. 47.

[5] See D. de Scacc. pp. 44, 45. Glanvill. ix. 11.

[6] On these, see Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, i. 225, &c., 257, &c.

[7] "Sane forestarum ratio pœna "quoque vel absolutio delinquen-"tium . . . . seorsum ab aliis regni "judiciis secernitur et solius regis "arbitrio vel cujuslibet familiaris "ad hoc specialiter deputati sub-"jicitur. Legibus quidem propriis "subsistit, quas non communi regni "jure sed voluntaria principum in-"stitutione subnixas dicunt, etc." Dialogus, p. 29.

[8] Frequent traces of this may be found in the present work. Ralph de Diceto seems to say that forest charges were trumped up against offenders against whom nothing could have been proved at law. Ralph Niger says, "Avibus cœli, "piscibus fluminum, bestiis terræ "immunitatem dedit, et sata pau-"perum loca pascua fecit." p. 168, and "legem quoque de fores-"tis inauditam dedit, qua delicti "alieni immunes perpetuo mulcta-"buntur quum decessores nulla "linea sanguinis contigerit." The enactment which was most odious was, however, this: "Nulli infra "metas forestæ habitanti in lucis "propriis aut virgas colligendi aut

Assize of Woodstock.

have given in the appendix, a copy of the Assize of the Forest made at Woodstock, probably in 1184, of which the assize given in our Chronicle was an earlier form.

General tendency of legal reforms.

It would be presumptuous in me to attempt to enter on the fields of investigation which are opened by the mention of these technical names. I have said, I think, sufficient to show the nature, extent, and purpose of the changes. It cannot be doubted that they contributed immensely and directly to the safety of life and property, the punishment of criminals, the limitation of dangerous privileges, the abolition of barbarous customs, the gradual assimilation of public usages, and the amalgamation of the different nationalities. These points must be worked out by the legal historian: but it requires no such investigation to assure us that they all contributed to the consolidation of the royal authority, the increase of the royal revenue, the directness of royal administration: nor, considering the part which both friends and foes ascribe to him, can we doubt the exercise of the king's personal agency, or refuse to trace his peculiar genius in these institutions.

Henry's fiscal measures.

Although we would not, with Ralph Niger,[1] assert that the sole object of Henry's judicial and legal innovations was the accumulation of treasure, the connexion between these and his fiscal measures was very close. It could indeed hardly be otherwise, considering that both Curia Regis and Exchequer owed their organization to the creative genius of one statesman, and that they were administered throughout the century by the same

" sylvestria et invia in agricultu- " ram agendi potestatem concessit " sine forestariis." Yet essarts were being made clearly throughout the reign. William of Newburgh (iii. 26) says, that in his punishments for forest offences Henry was milder than his grandfather, who made no distinction between the man-slayer and the deer-slayer. Cf. Dial. de Scacc. p. 28.

[1] " Nullo quæstu satiatus, aboli- " tis antiquis legibus, singulis annis " novas leges, quas assisas vocavit, " edidit." p. 168.

persons.[1] The sheriffs were both presidents of the county court and fermers of the revenue:[2] the judges were at once justices of the Curia and barons of the exchequer; their work in eyre was as much to assess the taxes as to decide the pleas; the chief justiciar was both the principal judge and "the first lord of the treasury."

Connexion between the law and the revenue.

It would be a most interesting task to attempt to trace the effects of this connexion of the two departments in constitutional history. Sir Francis Palgrave has pointed out the fact that the leading features of our parliamentary institutions are traceable to the judicial system of ancient times. The parliament is the highest court of judicature; the representative principle is identical with that of the jury: and it may be added that the taxing power of parliament itself may be traced in the same way to the assessment by juries, of which vestiges may be found from the era of Domesday Book downwards, which existed in certain departments in the reign of Henry II., and was approved and recognized by law under Richard I.

Light thrown on the origin of parliamentary institutions.

The revenue of the Anglo-Saxon kings arose principally from their demesnes, including both those which were kept in hand and those which were let at ferm at rents payable for the most part in kind. Besides this ordinary revenue, there were the Danegeld voted by the Witan for tribute or for the defence against the Danes; and certain other payments known generally under the name of geld or tax, which were probably derived from commutations of the trinoda necessitas, or special sums levied for the support of the shipping.

Sources of ancient revenue.

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[1] "Illic enim residet capitalis "domini regis justitia, primus post "regem in regno ratione fori, et "majores quique de regno qui "familiarius regiis secretis assis-"tunt . . verum quidam ex officio, "quidam ex sola jussione principis "resident." Dial. p. 8.

[2] The author of the Dialogus compares the days of account at the exchequer to a game at chess between the treasurer and the sheriff of each county. Dial., p. 4.

Norman system combining the feudal with the ancient taxes.

The Norman sovereigns proceeding on their general policy of combination maintained these taxes, and added to them the feudal burdens. It is indeed uncertain whether the Conqueror and William Rufus took the trouble of defining the exact nature of the calls which they made on their subjects for money. With the reign of Henry I. our actual knowledge of the question begins, and before the end of it we find the united burdens of the two systems pressing heavily on the nation at large. In the roll for the 31st year of his reign,[1] side by side with the fixed ferm of the counties and the Danegeld, two strictly national sources of revenue, appear the feudal payments for reliefs, marriages, and wardships; talliages on the towns are a part of the annual account. From other sources we learn that the marriage portion of the empress Maud was raised by a strictly feudal aid. A very considerable proportion of the revenue was already derived from the proceeds of placita, the profits arising from the administration of justice, enormous amercements for offences, and the sale of public offices.

Administration of the exchequer.

Roger, bishop of Salisbury, was the founder of the organization of the exchequer, and by his family it was administered, except during Stephen's reign, during the whole of the century. Nigel, bishop of Ely, his nephew, presided at the treasury until the year 1159, when he was succeeded by his son Richard, who held the same position until his death in 1198. Roger le Poor,[2] the

[1] Published by the Record Commission in 1835. Edited by Mr. Hunter.

[2] Dial. p. 20. There can, I think, be no doubt that the name "pauper" was first applied to Bishop Roger, and descended from him to his son, the chancellor. It is proved by the application to the bishop of the line, "Paupertas tenuis quam sit fecunda "virorum," by the author of the Dialogus, who was his great nephew, p. 20. And the historians who give an account of his rise dwell much on his original poverty, although they do not give him the name. The son of such a father was not likely to deserve the name of pauper in his youth, yet he has it universally. I am inclined to believe that Herbert "pauper" was son of Roger, the chancellor; he was the offspring of a concubine. Ben. Pet. i. 352.

son of Bishop Roger, was at one time chancellor to Stephen: the names of Herbert and Richard, successively bishops of the same see, and known by the same surname, probably carried on the family connexion with the court and exchequer far into the reign of Henry III. To the pen of Richard FitzNeal we owe the invaluable "Dialogus de Scaccario;" to his father and great uncle the institution of the enrolments of the revenue known as the Pipe Rolls, which contain the only documentary evidence, strictly speaking, which exists for the illustration of the constitutional history of this reign. Family of Roger le Poor.

The business powers of Henry II. appear to great advantage in his dealings with the exchequer. One of the first measures of his reign was to set up the old administration as it had been in his grandfather's time.[1] Bishop Nigel[2] was recalled to court and restored to his ancient place. The enrolment of receipts was at once proceeded with, and although it was not for some years that the completeness of accounts which had existed under Henry I. was attained, the order and method of the rolls of Henry II. are in favourable contrast with the single remaining roll of the former reign. Besides bishop Nigel and Richard of Ilchester, to whom he gave a special seat at the exchequer board,[3] Henry secured the services of Master Thomas Brunus or le Brun,[4] an old officer of king Roger of Sicily, whom he made his Almoner,[5] and Henry II. restores the exchequer.

[1] "Porro super his te vidimus "quandoque sollicitum adeo ut "missis a latere tuo viris discretis "de eodem dominum tunc Elien"sem conveneris." Dial. de Scacc. p. 2 (ed. 1711).

[2] See Dialogus, &c., p. 24, where the author gives a glowing character of the bishop.

[3] Dialogus, p. 13. He had risen from the ranks in the treasury; being mentioned as a scriptor in the Roll of the 2nd of Henry II., p. 30.

[4] Dialogus, p. 9.

[5] Froger, bishop of Seez, was almoner until 1159. Roger the Hospitaller took the office in 1177. Thomas Brunus was an Englishman who had been employed at the Sicilian court in high office. On the death of the king (probably Roger in 1154) he was invited to England. His name appears in the rolls from

provided with a similar seat, and who kept a roll of the exchequer, and other proceedings of the king and Curia, distinct from the counterpart enrolments of the treasurer and chancellor.

Exchequer accounts. I. The ferm of the counties.

The first item in the revenue rolls of each county is the firma comitatus; the assized ferm or rent which the sheriff paid as commutation for the feorm-fultum of earlier times. This source of revenue amounted, if we are to believe Giraldus Cambrensis,[1] to 60,000 marks in the time of Edward the Confessor, but had fallen in the reign of Henry II. to 12,000 marks, in consequence of the heavy charges granted out of it by both Stephen and Henry to their followers. This statement cannot be strictly true. The ferms were assessed certainly before the reign of Stephen,[2] for in the 31st of Henry I. they had sunk to the amounts at which they continued throughout the century, the aggregate in the gross not

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the 5th year to the 23rd. In the 15th year, 1169, he was almoner, so that he probably resigned that office in 1177. See Madox's note on the Dialogus, p. 17.

[1] De Inst. Pr. iii. 30. "Annui "fiscales redditus sicut in rotulo "Wintoniæ reperitur ad sexaginta "millia marcarum summam imple- "bant. Tempore vero regis Hen- "rici secundi, tot terris interim "militibus tam a rege Stephano "prius quam ab ipso postmodum ". . . . . large utrinque datis, vix "annui xii. millium marcarum red- "ditus fiscales sunt inventi." He adds that the German emperor has 300,000 marks per annum; and that the city of Palermo alone yielded more to the king of Sicily than all England did to Henry. The use of the words *terris datis* in this passage is technical. See Dialogus, p. 14, and the Pipe Rolls, *passim*.

[2] Richard FitzNeal, writing in 1178, could remember the time when the ferms were partly paid in kind. Dialogus de Scaccario, p. 20. To remedy the oppression incident to the system, the king, Henry II., "diffinito magnorum "consilio destinavit per regnum "quos ad id prudentiores et discre- "tiores cognoverat, qui circueuntes "et oculata fide fundos singulos "perlustrantes, habita æstimatione "victualium quæ de his solvebantur "redegerunt in summam denario- "rum." This writer states that part of the ferm of the county arose from *placita*, of which the earl had a third part, his third penny. But the whole ferm, and the third penny itself, had become a fixed charge before the reign of Henry II. Dial. p. 31.

reaching to more than 12,000*l*. From this fund, which was the whole of the ordinary revenue of the crown, Stephen had drawn the endowments of his fiscal or titular earls,[1] and the considerable sums which he spent on religious foundations. The crown was thereby so impoverished that it is difficult to see by what means during the middle and later years of the reign the royal state was supported, unless it were by a heavy Danegeld. One of Henry's first measures was to revoke these charges, and to restore them to their proper purpose. The lay grants were resumed, but the church endowments were beyond the king's reach; and as these, with the necessary provision made for his own family and followers, must be drawn from the same source, the sum of about 4,000*l*., to which in the early years of the reigns the terræ datæ amounted, must be deducted from the gross sum of the ferms. This reduced sum continued the same throughout the reign, and agrees very nearly with the estimate of Giraldus, about 8,000*l*.[2]

The ferms impoverished by Stephen.

Giraldus' statement.

The Danegeld, which had been always an odious tax to the English, and which, from its impact on the cultivated lands of the country, by its very nature repressed any attempts at improvement, had been abolished by

II. The Danegeld.

[1] "Quosdam imaginarios et pseudo-" comites quibus rex Stephanus " omnia pene ad fiscum pertinentia " minus caute distribuerat." R. de Monte, ad 1155. The reference is to the same in the passage of R. de Diceto quoted above, p. xlv. "Bo-" norum occupatores quæ suam ad " mensam quasi ad fiscum ab anti-" quo pertinere noscuntur, patri-" monio proprio contentos esse de-" bere, assereret, et etiam cogeret," c. 570. "Considerans . . . . quod " regii redditus breves essent qui " avito tempore uberes fuerant, eo " quod regia dominica per molli-" tiem regis Stephani ad alios " multosque dominos majori ex " parte migrassent, præcepit ea " cum omni integritate a quibus-" cunque detentoribus resignari." W. Newb. ii. 2.

[2] These numbers are arrived at by adding up the gross receipts of the Pipe Rolls. I have been as careful as I could, but it is difficult to be sure about the lower figures in a sum of fifty or sixty pages of Roman numerals, and I have preferred giving the result in round numbers.

The Danegeld under the Norman kings.

Edward the Confessor,[1] and restored by the Conqueror in an aggravated form. The ancient tax of two shillings on the hide had been on one occasion raised to six. It had not, however, become as before a part of the regular annual revenue, but was reserved by William for occasions of exceptional urgency,[2] so that it is possible that the gross amount so raised was not larger than it would have been if it had been collected annually, although in a time when money was scarce, the accumulated pressure would be out of all proportion heavier. We are not informed by what influences this tax was modified[3] until we find it in the reign of Henry I. a fixed and annual charge, bringing in the gross about 5,500*l.*, but reduced by waste and by pardons to official persons to about 3,500*l.* It may be conjectured that this reduction was made in consequence of the compact called the charter of Henry I., in which he promises the abolition of all evil customs. If the number of hides in the country was, as it is sometimes stated, 243,600, the ancient Danegeld must have raised a sum of 24,360*l.* It is, however, more probable that the sums which appear under the head of Danegeld in the rolls, and which were unquestionably all the produce of the tax which reached the royal treasury, are simply the amounts paid by the sheriffs as the ferm of the Danegeld. I am not aware

It becomes a fixed charge.

Was the whole produce of the tax paid into the exchequer?

[1] The Confessor is said to have seen the devil sitting on the money bags. Brompton, 942, and Luard's *Lives*, p. 307. The author of the Dialogus says, that it was an annual charge up to the Conquest, and that the Conqueror discontinued it; but see below. On the contrary, Stephen, in his charter of Oxford (Brompton, 1024), says that it had been levied annually, and this agrees with the Pipe Roll.

[2] Dialogus de Scaccario, p. 27. "Noluit hoc ut annuum solvi quod "fuerat urgente necessitate bellicæ "tempestatis exactum, nec tamen "omnino propter inopinatos casus "dimitti. Raro igitur temporibus "illius vel successorum ipsius solu"tus est."

[3] As to the alleged revaluation of the lands by Ranulf Flambard, for the purpose of increasing the Danegeld, see Orderic Vit. viii. 8; Palgrave, *Normandy and England*, iv. 60–61; Lappenberg (ed. Thorpe), iii. 226.

that this theory has ever been stated, but it would seem not improbable for several reasons. The great oppressiveness of the Danegeld of two shillings on the hide would render its collection a matter of difficulty, and it would never be raised without considerable loss. A fixed sum, on the other hand, must be paid into the treasury. It is possible that this sum was fixed on a low average, and that the sheriffs collected as well as they could the old tax, keeping for their own pay the difference between the sum collected and the sum paid in. If this were so, we can account for the fact that the Danegeld was still reputed in 1178 to be a tax of two shillings on the hide, whilst the actual receipt of the exchequer was very small.

Questions as to the Danegeld.

It may be questioned, however, further, whether the Danegeld itself was not compounded before it reached the hands of the sheriff, on the same principle on which forfeitures and reliefs were fixed at an almost nominal sum in the reign of Henry I. A man who owned twenty hides might be allowed to pay Danegeld for five, on the same principle that an abbot who owned twenty knights fees was allowed to pay scutage for a fourth part.

Was it compounded for?

Some countenance for the theory may be derived from the circumstances which are recorded by Becket's biographers as having taken place in the council at Woodstock, on the first of July 1163. On that occasion we are told that Henry wished to enter in the exchequer accounts, and add to his own revenues, a sum of "two shillings on the hide, which were given to "the king's servants, who in the post of sheriffs kept "the counties." Thomas resisted this claim. "We "will not give this sum as revenue, saving your plea-"sure, but if the sheriffs and the servants and ministers "of the provinces serve us well and support our vassals, "we will not be wanting in their assistance."[1] This

Proceedings of the council of Woodstock in 1163.

[1] This story is told by four of S. Thomas's biographers with a strong consensus. Grim, S. T. C. i. 21. Roger of Pontigny, S. T. C.

Thomas Becket's resistance to the king at Woodstock.

tax can be no other than the Danegeld, and Henry's object may have been to collect the entire sum into the treasury instead of the miserable fixed amounts which were paid in by the sheriffs. Whether Thomas appeared as the advocate of the sheriffs, who would be the first losers by the change, or of the people, is not clear, but the proposal to render "auxilium" voluntarily to the sheriffs instead of payment, does not favour the former supposition; such a proposal, on the other hand, comes with an ill grace from the statesman who had substituted fixed payments for personal service in the case of the scutage. The subject is one of the most obscure in the whole of Becket's history. It is possible, however, that Henry's purpose was simply to revive the payment of Danegeld; and if this were so, it was defeated by the primate's opposition, for no such tax was collected after the eighth year of Henry's reign,[1] the year preceding the council of Woodstock.

Danegeld comes to an end under Henry II.

Notwithstanding Ralph Niger's assertion that Henry renewed the ancient Danegeld (a statement which may have been made in reference to the scene at Woodstock), it is certain that the abolition or permanent disuse of the tax is to be attributed to this king. It was collected in the second year of his reign, in very nearly if not exactly the same gross amount as in the 31st Henry I. From the third to the seventh years it was disused; in the eighth it was collected in the same sums again, and after that it disappears until the 20th year,[2] when, although summonses were issued for the collection of it, there is no evidence to show that it was actually paid, unless the word is used simply as a synonym for talliage.

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i. 21. Garnier (quoted by Robertson, 329), 65. Will. Cantuar. S. T. C. ii. 5. Compare Robertson's *Becket*, App. IX.

[1] Madox thought that the accounts of Danegeld ceased after the second year; but he did not see the roll of the eighth year, which has been recovered since his time; and in which the receipts for Danegeld are entered. Cf. Hist. Exch. 479, &c.

[2] Madox, *Exchequer*, 479.

It may be fairly a matter of conjecture whether this practical abrogation of the tax was owing to a wish on Henry's part to prove himself a worthy successor of the Confessor, or to a conviction that it was an unprofitable, unpopular, and impolitic impost, a small portion only of which reached the exchequer; or whether the facts that during the years of Becket's chancellorship the Danegeld was not exacted, that in the year of his resignation it reappears, and that in the following year, after a stout resistance on his part, it was finally disused, point to the second martyr of Canterbury as the real deliverer from the tax, which in its first form the first martyr of Canterbury, St. Elphege, had resisted to the death. The carucage which was levied by Richard I. in his eighth year was, however, to all intents and purposes a revival of this odious impost. Cause of the abolition of the tax.

The next item of ancient revenue was the donum, or auxilium, names which bear evidence to their original nature of contributions by the vassals to assist the necessities of their lords. The former term is applied to the sums raised by the counties, the latter to those by the towns. This impost varied in amount on occasion, and there is no reason to suppose that it was an annual tax. It seems to have answered to what was known somewhat later by the name of talliage, and in the thirty-first of Henry I. appears only in the form of auxilium burgorum, being probably intended to be to the towns what Danegeld was to the country. III. The donum and auxilium.

The second year of Henry II. was marked by some variations from the older practice, which may be ascribed with tolerable certainty to the advice of Becket as chancellor. It was no doubt a year of extraordinary charges, and one in which the more elastic methods of raising a revenue by making up the arrears of legal proceedings could not be brought into effective working. We find in it accordingly the disappearance of Danegeld, coupled with the new arrangement of the donum, Changes in 1156.

which brought all classes of the population under contribution.

Scutage, hidage, and talliage.

From this time the donum may be taken as the general name of the irregular impost. It was called also *auxilium*, from the purpose which it was intended to serve, and hidage, scutage, or talliage, from the mode of collection or special character of the impost. The talliage or auxilium burgorum was levied on the towns, the scutage or donum militum on the knights' fees, and the hidage or donum simply on the tenants in socage. The peculiar measure of the second year was the collection of scutage from the knights' fees holding of ecclesiastical superiors, a measure which met with much opposition from archbishop Theobald at the time.[1] The amount actually accounted for on the roll; as raised by this scutage, was small, reaching altogether to not more that 500*l*. The donum comitatus and auxilium burgorum raised the same year about 2,700*l*. The whole sum accounted for on the year, with the addition of the profits of law proceedings and feudal incidents, is not much more than 22,000*l*. The donum of the fourth year was collected in a different form and in different relative proportions. It is possible that we should connect with the scutage on the clergy in the second year the ordinance which, as we learn from Robert de Monte,[2] was made in the third year for the war in Wales, that every two knights or tenants in chivalry should join to equip a third, by which means, if we are to understand it literally, 90,000 knights would appear from 60,000 knights' fees. The scutage of 1156

Scutage on the clergy in 1156.

[1] This is the scutage referred to by John of Salisbury, ep. 128, in terms which would imply that it was really levied to enable Henry to make war on his brother Geoffrey. "Verum interim scutagium " remittere non potest, et a quibus-" dam exactionibus abstinere, quo-" niam fratris gratia male sarta " nequidquam coiit, &c."

[2] Ad ann. 1157. "Circa festivi-" tatem S. Johannis Baptistæ rex " Henricus præparavit maximam " expeditionem, ita ut duo milites " de tota Anglia tertium pararent, " ad opprimendum Gallensem terra " et mari."

was also for the war in Wales, and may have been the share borne by the dignified clergy of the increased burden borne by the knights in kind.

Scutage as a commutation for military service.

The term scutage, as is well known, acquired later the meaning of commutation for military service, and the tax imposed for the war of Toulouse [1] is commonly stated to have been the first occasion of its collection in this form. For this payment a general levy of revenue was made, and as this undoubtedly touched every knight's fee, as well as every other source of income, it is called by the contemporary historians a scutage. It does not appear from the Pipe Rolls to have differed materially from the tax of the second year; the whole sum accounted for under the head of donum is short of 11,000*l.*, of which the clergy and their knights' fees paid 3,700*l.*, the towns about 2,500*l.*, the rest falls under the head of donum militum, or scutage proper, with a few miscellaneous contributions. It is singular that the mention of the war of Toulouse, or of the commutation of service, does not occur in the rolls for this year, and that Alexander Swereford, the compiler of the Red Book of the Exchequer, supposed that the donum was raised for a war on the Welsh marches.

Scutages of the reign of Henry II.

A second scutage was raised in the seventh year (1161), probably for payment of debts incurred for the same war, the assessment being in this, as in the former case, two marks to the knight's fee. It is possibly to the joint sum of these two scutages that the words of Gervase are to be applied when he states that the whole scutage for the war of Toulouse raised in England was 180,000*l.* of silver.[2] If it was indeed so,

Scutage of the war of Toulouse.

[1] It was the scutage of Toulouse which was alleged against Thomas Becket by his enemies, (Gilb. Foliot, ep. 194), and which his friends thought was the cause of his misfortunes. Joh. Salisb. ep. 145.

[2] Gervase, 1381. "Hoc anno "rex Henricus Scotagium sive scu- "tagium de Anglia recepit cujus "summa fuit centum millia et "quaterviginti millia librarum ar- "genti." See Hume, Hist. Engl. I., note P.

Question as to the amount raised for the war of Toulouse.

the only conclusion we can come to is that the rolls are sadly incomplete; but there is a roundness in the sum that tempts a doubt. By Robert de Monte we are told that the scutage of the king's foreign dominions was sixty shillings Angevin[1] to the knight's fee. If we suppose that Gervase had simply calculated the English scutage at sixty shillings sterling, the sum raised on 60,000 knights' fees would of course be exactly 180,000*l.* We know, however, that the sum was two contributions of two marks, that is 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to the fee. This would raise 160,000*l.* in the gross. But if the amount actually raised in the seventh year corresponded with that of the fifth, the whole was not a fifth of that sum. It is, however, impossible to come to an exact conclusion without fuller data than exist even in the rolls themselves. We do not know either the real number of knights' fees in England, or the number on which the tax was levied.

Scutage of Wales.

Another scutage was levied in the eleventh year for the army of Wales, accompanied by a talliage on the towns.

Aid pur fille marier.

The aid pur fille marier in the fourteenth year, a mark to the fee, was collected in exactly the same manner by scutage and talliage, but owing to several causes was much more productive than any former aid. This particular description of aid requires no remark; it had been levied before for the marriage of the king's mother, and was not imposed in addition to other taxes.

Scutage of Ireland.

It is in the eighteenth year that we find the scutage distinctly taking the character of a commutation,[2] or

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[1] R. de Monte, ad 1159. "Nolens "vexare agrarios milites nec burgensem, nec rusticorum multitudinem, sumptis 60 solidis Andegavensibus in Normannia de feudo "uniuscujusque loricæ, et de reliquis omnibus tam in Normannia "quam in Anglia, sive etiam aliis "terris suis, secundum hoc quod ei "visum fuit, capitales barones suos "cum paucis secum duxit, solidarios vero milites innumeros."

[2] The account given in the Dialogus is this: "Fit interdum, ut "imminente vel insurgente in regnum hostium machinatione, decernat rex de singulis feodis militum summam aliquam solvi, marcam scilicet vel libram unam, "unde militibus stipendia vel dona-

perhaps it may be called a fine in lieu of military service. It was for the Irish expedition, and amounted to twenty shillings on the fee on those knights who sent neither soldiers nor money for the expedition. The only other scutage of the reign was that for the Galloway expedition in the thirty-third year, which was accompanied by a general talliage.

Scutage of Galloway.

These imposts exhaust the list of the extraordinary taxes of the reign, with the exception of the talliages on demesne, imposed in the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-third years. The last of these was probably expended on the preparations for war in France, which throughout the spring seemed imminent, the other two in repairing the damage done in the rebellion of the year 1173.

Talliages on demesne.

This brief review is enough to enable us to estimate the historical value of the statements of Ralph Niger and William of Newburgh. The former states that Henry II. renewed the Danegeld, enacted new laws annually for the purpose of gain, and depressed nearly all his subjects with scutages, recognitions, and various alluvions of oppressions. William of Newburgh,[1] on the contrary, affirms that he never laid a single heavy burden on either England or his foreign possesions until he imposed the Saladin tithe. The latter statement is undoubtedly nearer the truth. On the other hand, William of Newburgh acquits

Statements of Ralph Niger and William of Newburgh.

"tiva succedant. Mavult enim "princeps stipendiarios quam do-"mesticos bellicis apponere casibus. "Hæc itaque summa, quia nomine "scutorum solvitur, scutagium nun-"cupatur." It had not yet acquired the restricted sense exclusively, for the tax raised for the redemption of Richard I., which was technically an aid, was raised by a scutage. The goods of knights or persons holding by knight service of a superior lord might be sold to pay their lord's scutage if he was a defaulter, "ratio "namque scutagiorum milites suos "magna pro parte respicit, quia "non nisi de militibus et ratione "militiæ regi debentur." Dial. p. 52. This law applied only to *scutage* (in commutation of service), not to a simple *donum*, and not to tenants *in capite*, p. 54.

[1] iii. 26.

Henry's exactions from the church.

him of imposing tribute on the churches and monasteries, although he allows the truth of the accusation of Ralph, that he kept benefices vacant for the sake of the profits.[1] Possibly in William's estimation the consent of S. Thomas took from the scutage on church fees its sacrilegious character.

IV. Profits of placita.

The revenue raised from legal proceedings, on which Ralph Niger pours his especial vituperation, constitutes from the time of the Assize of Clarendon a very important item in the national accounts. It does not seem, however, in any year to have reached the amount raised by the same means in the thirty-first of Henry I. The placita of the itinerant justices and justices of the forest begin to appear in the rolls of 1166, the levies on purprestures emerging at the same time. From 1175 downwards we find entries of the placita Curiæ and of the exchequer at uncertain intervals. Oblata Curiæ appear under distinct headings from the time of the establishment of the bench in the king's court, 1178; fines for the transfer of property from the twenty-eighth year.

V. Income from feudal incidents.

The income arising from feudal incidents was, of course, so fluctuating that no calculation can be made to give even a fair idea of the average revenue derived from them. In a general view of the receipts it would appear that Henry II. never approached to the oppressive sums raised by his grandfather from this source. His reign is marked by no great forfeitures except those of William Peverel and Henry of Essex,[2] both of which were strictly legal. The escheats and seizures never remained

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[1] William of Newburgh, iii. 26, gives Henry's own defence of himself. "Nonne melius est ut pecuniæ "istæ impendantur necessariis regni "negotiis quam in episcoporum absumantur deliciis? Nostri enim "temporis præsules veterum in se "formam minime exprimunt, sed "circa officium remissi et languidi "totis mundum brachiis amplectuntur." A very bad argument, as the historian adds, considering who appointed the bishops.

[2] R. de Monte, ad 1155 and 1163. R. de Diceto, 531, 535.

long in the royal hands, whilst the regale in the case of ecclesiastical vacancies was pertinaciously and even illegally exerted.[1]

Henry's measures for securing his feudal revenues.

It is clear, however, that Henry watched carefully for every opportunity of increasing this branch of his revenue. For this purpose was issued the commission of inquiry throughout England and Normandy into feudal services in 1168, which had so unfortunate an effect on Henry's relations with the archbishop, and the same was probably the cause of the inquiry entrusted to the sheriffs in 1177. A similar investigation in Normandy in 1171 is said by Robert de Monte to have had the effect of doubling the ducal revenue.

Moderate amount appearing on the rolls.

On a calm examination of the whole subject, it is difficult to affirm that the nation was oppressively taxed during any period of the reign. The amount of revenue accounted for in the last year of Henry, or as it is styled from the fact that the Michaelmas of 1189 fell in the next reign, the first of Richard I., is but 48,781*l.*, which stands in favourable contrast with the thirty-first of Henry I., when it reached the gross sum of 66,593*l.*[2]

Method of assessing and collecting taxes.

As to the mode in which the taxes were exacted and assessed we know too little to make any categorical statement. There can, however, be little doubt that the great council was consulted before the levying of any extraordinary impost, and that the assessment of the proportion to be paid by each individual was carried out in strictly legal form. The sheriffs were not at liberty to collect the donum of the county by oppressive means, but barons of the exchequer made their circuits

[1] See among innumerable proofs of this unconstitutional proceeding S. T. C. iii. 23.

[2] "Nullum grave regno Anglo-" rum vel terris suis transmarinis "onus unquam imposuit, usque ad "illam novissimam decimationem, "causa expeditionis Jerosolimi-" tanæ, quæ nimirum decimatio in "aliis æque flebat regionibus." W. Newb. iii. 26.

Possible employment of juries.

for the purpose of assessment.[1] It is certain that the knights assessed themselves by declaring their own assisable estate by a special charta stating the number of fees held by them of the Crown. In the case of socage tenants the assessment was probably made by inquest of jury, such as we find employed in the carrying out of the assize of arms and the levying the Saladin tithe. It is possible, indeed, that this expedient was used only in the case of personal property to which these particular cases apply. When, however, in the reign of Richard I. we find a new assessment of carucage enacted,[2] the law orders it to be carried out by two servants of the king, a clerk and a knight, who, with the sheriff of the county and lawful men elected thereto, shall after taking oath, call before them the stewards of the barons of the county, the lords of the townships, or their bailiffs or provosts, with four lawful men of the township, and two lawful knights of the hundred, who also are to swear that they will faithfully and without fraud tell what are the wainages of the carucates in each township: the moneys are to be collected by two lawful knights and the bailiff of the hundred, who are to account for them to the sheriff, and the sheriff to the

Reason for the supposition.

[1] Dial. p. 23. "Cognita summa "quæ de comitatu requiritur com-"muniter ab iis qui in comitatu "fundos habent, per hydas distri-"buitur ut nihil desit de illa cum "ventum fuerit ad scaccarium solu-"tionis." In the case of towns the *donum* might be settled in two ways, either by an apportionment to individuals made by the justices, or by an offer of the burgesses of a sufficient sum raised by themselves. If they tried to excuse themselves, inquiry was made, "per fidem vice-"comitis," as to their solvency. Ib. p. 51. So we find the burgesses of Horncastle assessing themselves at a different sum from the assessment of the justices, and the latter accepting their decision. 14 Hen. II. Madox, *Hist. Exch.* p. 407.

[2] Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, i. 275, gives the following dates of the further development of the principle of assessment of personal property. I. 8 John. Every individual to swear to the amount of his income. II. 9 Hen. III. If the oath of the party was doubted or disputed, an inquest summoned. III. 16 Hen. III. Individual oaths discarded, and inquests impannelled for the township or hundred.

exchequer. This act took place in 1197, but there are traces of a similar proceeding at an earlier period. The inquisitions on which Domesday was founded were drawn up from inquests of two sorts; the first of the barons with the sheriff, the bailiff of the hundred, and the king's officers; the second of the villenage, "six "ceorls being returned from every township, who together with the parish priest and the town reeve, "also made their statements on oath to the royal commissioners."[1] This was, perhaps, an exceptional case, but it was a good precedent: as early as the reign of Henry I. the rights of the crown were ascertained by an inquisition or recognition by a sworn inquest. In the 14th of Henry II. we find the burghers of Horncastle, by permission of the justices, assessing their own contribution pur fille marier, and as this is incidentally mentioned, the practice may have been general. It seems impossible for the justices to have acted without some such organization as the jury. The form was as old as Domesday, and the machinery for legal matters in perfect working. The question is obscure, probably, only because the system was in regular operation and required no notice from contemporary writers. From its occasional use, we may infer its general applicability. The importance of the facts recorded on the question of self-taxation, representation and the use of the jury, can hardly be over-stated, but they belong more distinctly to the two following reigns.

Earlier traces of juries for fiscal purposes.

Among the minor matters of the exchequer business the coinage received a large share of the king's attention. Twice, at least, during the reign a new currency was put into circulation, and very strict measures were taken to preserve its integrity. In this respect Henry no doubt felt himself to be carrying out the provisions

Coinage.

[1] Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, i. 272.

of the treaty by which the throne was secured to him at Wallingford.

Restoration of the coinage under Henry II.

We are to understand by this the restoration of the standard value of the coin, the debasement of which had been one of the charges laid by public opinion against Stephen;[1] and the abolition of the coinage of those usurping nobles who, amongst the other royal rights which they had arrogated, had each for himself coined money with his own mark. But Henry's measures went further still. He abolished the local differences of the coinage which had subsisted from the days of the Heptarchy, and instituted a uniform currency for the whole kingdom. Further, by insisting on the payment at the exchequer of the lawful coin of the realm only,[2] he threw out of circulation the debased money which was still current in his foreign territories. His proceedings were not, indeed, altogether successful: the next reign witnessed another attempt to enforce a uniform system of weights and measures: even to the present day we are experiencing how powerful local customs in this respect are against law and common sense, as well as against the empirical innovations of financial theorists. But the reformation of the coinage was probably in a great measure completed, and it must have been in the first instance, at least, a welcome change to a nation weary of the debased, mutilated, and mongrel coin which had afforded so much room for exaction, cheatery, and litigation.

[1] W. Malmesb. Hist. Nov. ii. p. 712.

[2] Dialogus de Scaccario, p. 5. "Postquam rex illustris cujus laus "est in rebus magnis excellentior, "sub monarchia sua per universum "regnum unum pondus et unam "monetam instituit, omnis comi-"tatus una legis necessitate teneri "et generalis commercii solutione "cœpit obligari; omnes itaque idem "monetæ genus quomodocunque "teneant solvunt." Up to the time of Henry II. Northumberland and Cumberland paid in mixed money. Money in England might be pronounced false on three grounds, "in falso scilicet pondere, in falsa "lege, in falsa imagine." Ib. p. 6. The second probably referred to coin discarded and withdrawn from circulation.

The new coinage was ready in 1158. It is referred by Hoveden to the year 1156, but it was probably a measure which required some time for general acceptance, and was accompanied by very severe measures against the fraudulent moneyers. These are mentioned in the rolls of the second year of the reign as punished by mutilation. The first notice in the accounts, of Commutatio Monetæ, occurs in 1158: the former proceedings were, therefore, in all probability preliminary to a general enforcement of the act, which, however generally welcome, would necessarily be attended with cases of individual hardship. New coinage in 1158.

The new coinage of 1180 was not favourably received,[1] nor are we informed of the circumstances which rendered it necessary. It may, however, have been required owing to the fraudulent management of the moneyers,[2] who were very severely punished, being carted in fetters two and two to the king's court, where they were compelled to redeem themselves with a heavy fine. An assize was issued by which the payment of the old coin was declared unlawful after Martinmas, and a new coinage was struck under the superintendence of Philip Aymar, a native of Touraine. Philip unfortunately neglected to restrict himself to lawful transactions and was discovered to be conniving at the villanies of the moneyers in the exchequer. The fact that he escaped punishment on this occasion whilst minor offenders were severely treated, is somewhat suspicious. He was pardoned and escaped by the king's connivance to France.[3] New coinage in 1180. Punishment of the moneyers.

[1] William of Newburgh, iii. 5, states that it was owing to the debasement "a falsariis," but whether this means forgers, or dishonest moneyers, is not clear; probably the latter; he adds, "quod quidem "ratione utilitatis publicæ pro tem- "pore erat necessarium sed regni "pauperibus et colonis nimis one- "rosum."

[2] Even the carelessness of the moneyers was very heavily punished. Dial. p. 19. Although the writer allows that "in moneta generaliter "peccatur ab omnibus."

[3] Cf. R. de Diceto, 611. Gervase, 1457. W. Newb. iii. 5.

Punishment for clipping.

But the same year, Idonea, a London lady,[1] probably a Jewess, was mutilated for clipping, and her chattels, to wit, 9*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* in money, five marks in blank silver, nine small gold rings, and three gold fermailles, were paid into the exchequer by the sheriffs. As late as 1184, one Richard of Stokes was in trouble for using the old coin in exchange contrary to the assize. And in 1189, the sheriff of Cumberland was under a fine for the same.[2] The whole proceeding was unpopular, and the leniency with which the principal offender was treated is possibly to be explained much to Henry's discredit. Ralph Niger, as usual, seizes on the opportunity for invective, and tells us that the king, "being himself corrupted by archbishop "Richard, suffered the coinage to be corrupted, and, "nevertheless, hanged the corrupters of it."[3]

Charge against the king.

Henry's military system.

Henry's management of military affairs savoured strongly of his favourite policy. Of the three possible systems, the ancient Anglo-Saxon plan of arming the whole nation for the common defence was not available for external war; the divided command and jealousy that pervaded a feudal host, and the short period of feudal service, rendered the profitable employment of such assemblages almost impossible; and the name of mercenaries was so abhorrent to the English people that an attempt to support a standing army of such materials would have been a signal for rebellion. Henry acted wisely in the way in which he dealt with these elements.

Use of scutage in commutation.

The adoption of scutages in commutation of personal service enabled the king to call to his assistance only those feudal retainers on whom he might confidently rely; the others were glad to be excused attendance, and their contributions were more valuable than their presence. The length of a campaign was no longer limited by the forty

[1] Madox, *Hist. Exch.* 189.

[2] Madox, *Hist. Exch.* 191, and note to Dial. de Scacc. 21. Pipe Roll of 1 Rich. I., p. 137.

[3] R. Niger, p. 168.

days of feudal obligation, and the payment of the force which consented to lengthen its term of service at the king's bidding was defrayed from this source, or the native population spared by the employment of Welshmen or Brabantines. The war of Toulouse was thus conducted, the king leading to it his chief vassals in person with small retinues, but an innumerable host of soldiers, solidarii.[1] On one occasion, in 1177,[2] Henry did make a grand demonstration of the old sort, and collected the whole feudal force of the kingdom at Portsmouth for an invasion of France, but on almost every other occasion of foreign warfare he employed mercenaries. The campaigns in Ireland and Galloway, which can hardly be looked on as foreign wars, were fought by feudal levies; but in the former at least of these cases there was a distinct intention of employing at a distance elements that were dangerous at home; it was a case of feudal colonization and to be effected by feudal means. It does not appear that Henry thought himself strong enough to interfere directly with the rights of the great vassals in this respect. He could dismantle their castles, imprison their persons, and make it impossible for them to reclaim their longed-for capacity of making private war, but supposing them to be at liberty and in possession of their estates, he would have been infringing the fundamental law of feudalism if he had attempted to meddle with their own relations to their vassals.

Soldiers hired with the produce of the scutage.

Feudal muster in 1177.

The feudal military system continues to exist.

It was his interest however that England should be a military power; only the leading of that power must be in the king himself. It was necessary to foster a military spirit without giving it the opportunity of being used to the prejudice of the royal power. Happily Henry

Henry's plan for training the nation to arms.

[1] R. de Monte. "Capitales barones suos cum paucis, . . . solidarios vero innumeros." The king of Scotland, a Welsh king, and all the counts and barons of England, Normandy, Guienne, Anjou, and Gascony, were there in person. Gerv. 1381.

[2] Ben. Pet. i. 168, 190.

Difficulties of the case.

saw a way, and had the means, of maintaining such a spirit in the heart of the nation. If the national defence had been left to feudalism, the country must have relapsed into anarchy; if it had been entrusted to mercenaries, a military despotism must have resulted: if, on the other hand, the modern principle of creating a national military spirit had been forestalled, England might have become a nation of soldiers, a scourge of the western world.

The remains of the old Anglo-Saxon military system.

The national militia, the legitimate successor of the Anglo-Saxon fyrd, seems to have subsisted in its integrity until the reign of Stephen.[1] This force had helped to defeat the Scots at the battle of the Standard,[2] and chiefly contributed to the suppression of the rebellion of 1173.[3] On both these occasions the conquering army partook in great measure of the character of a tumultuary levy. It was in the latter case the *posse comitatus*, under the leading of the sheriffs whose fidelity the king had secured by the judicial measures of the preceding years. But although this doubtless contributed to the success of the organization, it is clear from the history that the freemen of the nation, the body from which this force was drawn, were faithful to the king and instinctively hostile to the feudal rebels. The same feeling also pervaded the town populations, and united for patriotic purposes the two elements which were least likely to be deluded by the dreams of military glory, the traders and the cultivators of the land.

Henry's assize of arms.

It was perhaps from this experience that Henry learned the real value of this force and the reliance to be placed upon them. And accordingly, when in 1181 he took measures for organizing the defence of his whole domi-

[1] Cf. Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, ii., ccclxxiii.

[2] Richard of Hexham, 321. The archbishop of York ordered every parish priest to attend with all the parishioners capable of fighting. Ailred, Bellum Standardii, Twysden, 338.

[3] B. Petr. i. 65, 68. R. de Diceto, 574.

nions against the ambitious yearnings of Philip II., he included the whole free population in his famous assize of arms.[1] This legislative act was not confined to England,[2] and its importance in this respect must therefore not be exaggerated. It is the inclusion of the whole free population in the general measure, not their distinct organization, that is important. The act enforced on all freemen the duty of providing arms according to their capacity, beginning with the landholders and descending to those who possessed ten marks in chattels, including indeed all burghers and freemen. The proper equipment of each rank was defined particularly, and means ordained for carrying out the statute. The sale and exportation of arms were forbidden, and the settlement of the legal status of every freeman is placed in the hands of justices, to be ascertained by the oath of lawful men of the hundred. By this ordinance was consolidated and organized a force which could be depended on to save the country from hostile invasion, and that class was trained in the use of arms, from which in after times the conquerors of Creci and Agincourt were drawn. Subsequent legislation by Edward I. in the statute of Winchester, Henry IV., Philip and Mary, and James I., has served to maintain to our own day in the form of militia the primeval institution of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers.[3]

The assize of arms of 1181.

It is no wonder that Henry, whilst providing for the defence of England by the militia, and having rid himself of the hazardous services and precarious faithfulness of the feudal armies, should have availed himself of the use of mercenaries in his foreign wars. Some portion of those in his pay were Welshmen,[4] who had taken service under him at the end of the Welsh war; but the greater

Henry's employment of mercenaries.

[1] Ben. Pet. i. 278.

[2] Ben. Pet. i. 269, 270, shows that it was first published abroad.

[3] Cf. Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, i. 305, &c., and ii., ccclxviii., &c.

[4] B. P i. 74., ii. 46. R. de Monte, 915.

Character of the mercenaries.

part was composed of those fearful engines of slaughter, the Brabançon and Basque mercenaries.[1] The use of paid foreign soldiers had prevailed since the reign of the Conqueror, and these had been generally drawn from the Low Countries which furnished so large a portion of the first crusaders, and were known in England as Flemings. In many cases they were doubtless soldiers formed and trained amid the hardships of the crusades, who had concluded their salvation and rid themselves of their conscience by the same service. But about the mercenaries of the latter half of the twelfth century there are features that can hardly be traced to this original. Sprung, no doubt, in the first instance from the lands whose names they bore, they had practised for generations, it would seem, a trade of war, recruiting their numbers by the incorporation of criminals, and by the children borne to them in almost promiscuous concubinage. The historians of the time seldom speak of them without horror, as constituting a race by themselves, without nationality, country, or religion.[2] The names they bore were not those of the Christian saints; they were excommunicated by the church; they were attached by no tie but pay to the leader who employed them, and with him treachery and cruelty were the chief characteristics of their relation. They were frequently led by banished or landless lords, who, raising the sinews of war by means of plunder, were eager to take advantage of any disturbance to obtain a settled position. Henry, abiding by the spirit of the treaty of Wallingford, abstained, on all but one occasion

[1] Geoffrey of Vigeois (Labbe, ii. 328) enumerates the nations, "Primo Basculi, postmodum Teuthonici Flandrenses, et ut rustice "loquar, Brabansons, Hannyers, "Asperes, Pailler, Navar, Turlau, "Vales, Roma, Cotarel, Catalans, "Aragones." Under several of these names they were condemned in the Lateran Council of 1179, in the same canon with the heretics, the Cathari and Publicani. Cf. R. de Diceto, 590. R. de Monte, 923.

[2] See Gervase, 1461, who tells us that their camp was a place of refuge for profligate monks, canons, nuns, outlaws of all sorts.

during his reign, from introducing these mercenaries into England; and on this he was warranted by their employment on the side of the rebels. In 1173 the Earl of Leicester, and Hugh Bigot in the following year, had introduced a large force of Flemings into the Eastern counties. The former was defeated at Forneham, and lost ten thousand Flemings in the battle; the latter was forced to submit by Henry himself, and his mercenaries with reluctance suffered to return to Flanders. In this war the count of Flanders was in alliance with the rebels, and the mercenaries were, in a measure, protected by the character of belligerents from the fate of pirates. Henry himself was accompanied by his Brabançons;[1] but as they landed only on the 8th of July, and embarked for return on the 7th of August, they had not time to effect much mischief. It is here only that they touch English history during this reign.

Employment of mercenaries in England.

In 1181, Hugh de Puiset, count of Bar on the Seine, an adventurer who had been instrumental in introducing the Flemings into England in 1173, proposed to lead a body of these troops on a crusade. The pope, however, seeing the disgrace to Christendom which would arise from the employment of such wretches, suggested that the Mahometans of Spain were fitter objects for his zeal, and directed him, as a work of penance, to lead his soldiers against them: but the proposition fell to the ground.

Intended crusade of Hugh of Bar on the Seine.

It is unnecessary to pursue them through the reigns of Richard and John; but it may be observed that they were undoubtedly the precursors of the famous free companies of the following centuries, which were known by the name of Catalans, or among the Greeks by the more heathenish name of Almugavares.[3] It may even be a question whether the mysterious proscribed races

Free companies.

[1] W. Newburgh, ii. 32. R. de Monte, 915. Gerv. 1427. R. de Diceto, 576.

[2] Ben. Pet. i. 276.

[3] Gibbon, *Decl. and Fall.* c. 62. vol. viii. p. 32.

existing in some parts of Europe may not be the descendants of some of these detested bodies of men.

Henry's relations with the Great Council of the nation.

So many questions turn upon the character, status, and actual powers of the Great Council of the nation, that it would be presumptuous as well as useless to attempt an examination of the subject in this preface. It does, however, occupy so prominent a place in the annals of the reign that it is impossible to pass it over. Although in several respects our knowledge of the subject is complete, it is very difficult to draw from the facts any trustworthy conclusions. We know the character of the persons who composed the assembly, the manner of their deliberations, the times of their meetings, and the subjects of their discussions. But we do not know the actual importance attached to their proceedings, and we have a very faint knowledge of their real power in either legislation or taxation.

Composition of the Great Council in the reign of Henry II.

The persons who composed the assembly are described exactly enough, "the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, " barons, knights, and free tenants in chief of the king." In this enumeration we trace a combination of the character of the Anglo-Saxon council with the feudal court. The archbishops, bishops, and abbots retained the places they had held among the sapientes of the old system; the barons, knights, and free tenants in chief owe their position as clearly to the land tenure of the new. The earls in theory fulfil both conditions; they are at once the comites, the gesiths of the old, and the most important of the barons of the new system; but as earls their position was purely that of the old sapientes: they were neither in theory nor in fact representatives of their earldoms in any other sense than that in which every baron represented his own tenants. All these classes were, however, feudal tenants of the king, for the few cases in which foreign prelates and Norman barons sat in the English councils are insufficient to prove that the king ever gave a place to one who had not a right to

it, either by his position in the church or by his tenure. We can have no hesitation in identifying them with the proper constituents of the feudal court of the king as Lord Paramount of the land. But they are not the less the national council, the direct successors of the Witenagemote; the sapientes and sapientiores of the nation. The two characters were perfectly compatible, and the limited number of persons qualified to take part in either capacity, and the abolition of any tenure which would allow of the existence of a class of influential men not dependent directly on the king, necessitated such a union. Whether, however, the legal status of the assembly when it met was that of a feudal court or of a national council, or both; or whether the question of legal status ever occurred to its members, or was clearer to them than it is to us, are matters on which, as there are few grounds of argument, there will always be abundance of discussion.[1] The position of the spiritual lords, who only could trace their right to seats to a period earlier than the institution of the baronial tenure, and whose liberties only were provided for in the national charters, saves the incipient parliament from the definite character of a feudal court. So long as they sat in virtue of their spiritual office, the great council was a national assembly. Of the other members there were none who did not both theoretically and actually owe their places to the king, to their position in his household, or to the tenure of their estates; nor could it be a question with them whether their place was due to their personal, or to their official, or to their territorial qualification; the earls no longer represented their counties, the sheriffs, who might in some measure have done so, sat not as sheriffs, but as tenants in chief of the crown.

Mixed character, feudal and national, of these assemblies.

Position of the lords spiritual.

It is not clear what proportion of the classes summoned actually attended the councils. Except in the

[1] See Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ii., &c. Allen on the Prerogative, &c. &c.

case of the higher members we have no data for a conjecture. The knights and free tenants in chief were summoned, but in the indefinite language of the chroniclers we cannot find any basis for calculation. The immense multitudes, who occasionally are mentioned as attending, are evidence of the publicity of the whole transaction, not of the numbers of the councillors. It is probable that few of the inferior tenants attended, who neither were the ordinary suitors of the county where the parliament was held, nor had business of their own to transact. The theory, however, of a representative body was perfect; each tenant in chief representing and answering for his own mesne tenants, although the principles of delegation and election, already in use for other purposes, could not, so long as the council continued to be summoned in feudal terms, be made available for this. In this point the reign of Henry II. does not furnish us with details showing any process of change. The exclusion from the court, by the decree of Woodstock of 1175,[1] of those members who had been in rebellion during the previous years, unless called up by special summons, is construed to prove the adoption of summonses in this reign; but the argument is unnecessary, for the use of summonses, not as a matter of law so much as of necessity, is clear enough at an earlier period; whilst the character of the summons, its generality or speciality, is not touched by the case.

Attendance of the persons summoned.

Henry's frequent employment of councils.

Henry began his reign with an attempt at least to maintain the forms of the old constitution in respect to these assemblies, and a similar feeling may be traced in the transactions of the years which he was able to devote without interruption to English business.[2] These

[1] Ben. Pet. i. 93. Cf. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, iii. 9.

[2] A general reference for authorities for the subject may be made to the Itinerary, given in the Appendix to the Preface to the present Volume.

years were indeed very few; out of the thirty-four which his reign contained, not more than twelve and a quarter altogether, and out of these only seven terms of twelve months consecutively, were spent in England. The proceedings of these years may be taken as specimens of what his notion of constitutional routine would have been had it been possible to carry it out.

Short periods of his visits to England.

I. In the year 1155 he traversed the whole of England, partly for political, partly for judicial purposes. He held great councils at London,[1] Wallingford,[2] Bridgenorth,[3] Winchester,[4] and Westminster.[5] We are not told whether on any of these occasions he wore his crown; but as they did not synchronize with any of the great festivals of the church, and as the military character of his movements probably decided the place of assembly more than the intention of reviving the old judicial placita of the three districts of the kingdom, it is likely that he did not.

Councils in 1155.

II. Between April 1157 and August 1158 was a year of internal peace. During this period and this only, the king wore his crown and held his court *de more* on the great festivals; at Pentecost, 1157, at St. Edmunds,[6] at Christmas at Lincoln,[7] and at Easter, 1158, at Worcester;[7] all either in the Danelage or the Merchenalage. After which, the chronicler tells us he wore his crown no more.[8] On all these occasions great councils were held, archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, knights, free tenants, and people attending. A fourth council was held at Northampton[9] in July 1157, in which we are not told whether or no the ceremony was performed. But it was in all probability an important military gathering,

In 1157 and 1158. Henry wears his crown.

[1] Gervase, 1377.
[2] Gervase, 1378. R. de Monte, 886.
[3] Chron. Battle, 75.
[4] R. de Monte, 887.
[5] Chron. Battle, 76.
[6] Chron. Battle, 85.
[7] Hoveden, 281.
[8] R. de Diceto, 531. See Sir H. Ellis' pref. to John of Oxenedes, p. xviii.
[9] Gervase, 1380.

and may have been assembled for the further purpose of levying a donum for the Welsh war.

Councils in 1163 and 1164.

III. and IV. The years 1163 and 1164 were spent in England. Of the legislative importance of their transactions there can be no doubt; but we may notice, perhaps, as a feature of change, that the councils are not called only to the provincial capitals, but also to the *penetralia regum*, the forest palaces of Windsor, Woodstock, Marlborough, and Clarendon. In 1163 we have assemblies at Windsor,[1] Woodstock,[2] and Westminster;[3] in 1164 at Clarendon,[4] Reading,[5] and Northampton.[6] Of these those of Woodstock and Clarendon were as clearly national councils as those of Westminster and Northampton.

Councils in 1175, 1176, and 1177.

V. and VI. Between May 1175 and August 1177, councils were held at Reading at Pentecost,[7] at Gloucester,[8] Woodstock,[9] Nottingham,[10] and Windsor,[11] in 1175; in 1176 at Northampton,[12] London,[13] Winchester,[14] and Westminster;[15] in 1177 at Northampton,[16] London,[17] Oxford,[18] and Winchester,[19] the latter a military levy and council of war; moreover, during this period the king made two circuits of the southern and one of the northern counties.

Councils in 1178, 1179, and 1180.

VII. Between July 1178 and April 1180 we have less satisfactory evidence; but courts were certainly held at Christmas and Easter at Winchester,[20] again at Pente-

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1 R. de Anesty, ap. Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, ii., xxiii.
2 R. de Diceto, 536.
3 Gervase, 1384.
4 R. de Diceto, 536.
5 R. de Monte, 899.
6 R. de Diceto, 537.
7 B. P. 91.
8 B. P. 92.
9 B. P. i. 93.
10 B. P. i. 94.
11 B. P. i. 103.
12 B. P. i. 107.
13 B. P. i. 116.
14 B. P. i. 118.
15 B. P. i. 124.
16 B. P. i. 132.
17 B. P. i. 154.
18 B. P. i. 162.
19 B. P. i. 178.
20 B. P. i. 221, 228.

cost;[1] at Nottingham[2] at Christmas, 1179, and at Reading,[3] in Lent, 1180.

Nearly, if not all of the assemblies here enumerated were meetings of the Great Council of the nation. To many of them the attendance of the kings of Scotland, with their barons and bishops, and of the princes of Wales, gave the character of an imperial parliament. In particular, Malcolm, king of Scotland, attended a court at Chester in 1157, at which he did homage, and another at Carlisle in 1158.[4] During great part of the former year he was in attendance on Henry and he followed him to the war of Toulouse.[5] In 1163 he was present again, and did homage to father and son at Woodstock, in the council at which the Danegeld was debated.[6] William the Lion, who succeeded to the crown in 1165, attended the Easter council at Windsor in 1170,[7] and with his barons did homage to the younger king at Westminster the day after the coronation. After his release from captivity in 1175 he was more frequently in attendance at the royal councils. He was present at the great council of Northampton in January 1176,[8] and again at court in October at Feckenham, and in June 1177 at Winchester. At Christmas 1179 he was at court at Nottingham. He paid the king a long visit in Normandy in 1181, in obedience to a peremptory summons to appear in court to answer the complaints of his bishops. In 1185 he was summoned to the council at Clerkenwell and attended in person; and in 1186 he was firmly attached to Henry by a royal marriage; four days after his marriage he sent his wife to Scotland, but himself stayed for a council at Marlborough.[9] He was not, however, at the council of Geddington, when the

Most of these strictly national councils.

Attendances of the kings of Scotland.

[1] B. P. i. 246.
[2] B. P. i. 244.
[3] R. de Diceto, 610.
[4] Hoveden, 281.
[5] R. de Monte, ap. Bouquet, xiii. 300.
[6] R. de Diceto, 536.
[7] B. P. i. 4.
[8] B. P. i. 111.
[9] B. P. i. 351.

Saladin tithe was granted, and probably never saw Henry again. The Scottish barons refused to join in the payment, and defeated an arrangement between Henry and William by which the latter was to recover his castles.[1] One of the first measures of Richard I. was to release William from his feudal dependence, and to restore the castles, in return for a sum of money to be spent on the crusade. The attendance of the Welsh princes at the court was less easily obtained, and Henry had generally to make an expedition into the west to receive their homage.

The Scottish barons refuse to pay the Saladin tithe.

Fealty of Scotland released.

More important national business: legal, financial, feudal, and military.

Henry seems to have taken every opportunity to assemble these councils, and to have asked their advice on every possible subject. The most important of them are described as "concilium de statu regni et pace refor-"manda," or "de statutis regni." Of this sort were those of Bermondsey in 1155,[2] of London and Wallingford in 1156,[3] of Clarendon and Northampton in 1164, of London in 1170, of Northampton in 1176, and Windsor in 1177. Financial business was treated in others, especially in that of Woodstock in 1163, and in the council of Geddington in 1188. Others seem to have been held chiefly for the reception of fealties, others for the inquiry into feudal services, others for the organization of the army. In all these we can trace the proper character of a national as well as of a feudal assembly, although the subjects were treated, no doubt, indiscriminately; and they are constitutionally important.

Complimentary consultations.

Besides these, however, there were many in which matters were canvassed on which even in the present day the voice of parliament would not be consulted. The arbitration between the kings of Navarre and Castille, the application of William of Sicily for the hand

[1] B. P. ii. 44.

[2] Gervase, 1377.

[3] Gervase, 1378.

of Johanna, and the reconciliation of the archbishops of Canterbury and York, were referred by Henry to the Great Council, and decided by him on their recommendation. In one particular we gain a glimpse of an important constitutional point, when we find the king asking of his Council leave to quit the kingdom; the cases in which it is recorded may be merely complimentary, but the form itself has considerable significance.

Private questions debated.

These details are in themselves quite insufficient to be the groundwork of a theory, but they afford a strong presumption as to the real relations between Henry and his council, the king and the parliament. If he could have dispensed with it, his calling it together on so many occasions shows that he wished to maintain constitutional forms: if he could not, the fact that these assemblies were held so regularly proves that he was able to carry on his government either through them or in the most friendly relations with them. It is probable that he could have acted without them, for the baronage was thoroughly humbled, and the adherence of the people was secured. We may infer from this that when he asked advice he wanted it, and gladly availed himself of constitutional forms for eliciting it. On the business of the kingdom it may be fairly said that a strong government such as Henry's was is always amenable to advice. Where there was no room for jealousy, good counsel was much more likely to be taken than under a balanced constitution, where each constituent is afraid to accept advice lest it should grant too much authority to the giver. The difficulties of limited monarchy arise from the indefinable limits of regal and parliamentary power. Henry was wise enough to know his own strength, and strong enough to take good advice from whatever quarter it came.

Did Henry really ask advice?

He might do it without jealousy.

Matters did not however always work smoothly. The question of Danegeld at Woodstock, and of the acceptance of the written Consuetudines at Clarendon, are

Occasional difficulties.

Attempts at constitutional resistance.

proof that the voice of constitutional independence, at all events on the church side, could still make itself heard. It is needless to analyze the history of these contests. They are important as isolated constitutional phænomena, but they were not decided on constitutional principle, nor directly conducive to the development of constitutional liberty. Without Thomas Becket, it is true, we might never have had a Hubert Walter, a Langton, or a Winchelsey; but these men, when their time came, sought their precedents not from the days of Becket, but from the earlier times when the consent of the English people was deemed as necessary for the election of a king as for the concession of a tax.

Henry acted with respect to constitutional forms.

But however much the participation of the council in legislation and taxation may have depended on the will of the king, Henry did not assume the title or style of an absolute sovereign. His legal enactments were passed in the presence of his bishops, earls, and barons, and by the advice of his son, the king, and by the advice of the earls, knights, and vassals," or "by the common counsel "of the realm," or "by the advice of the archbishops, "bishops, abbots, and the rest of the barons of the king-"dom." There was a well-drawn line between the "Commune jus regni" and the forest jurisdiction, which was the arbitrary will of the sovereign: the very maintenance of such a form was a protest against despotism. It was indeed a form which had been retained during the most oppressive periods of Norman tyranny, and when it was really only a form; but under Henry, in compliance with constitutional usage, advice was asked and given, though not always taken.

Process of making or granting a tax.

The process of taxation was not often brought forward as a subject of debate, so far at least as our chroniclers tell us: it must indeed have resembled the making of a parochial rate in the present day, far more than the granting of a tax in the imperial parliament. Men know that they must pay, and in what proportions;

direct resistance is useless: the notice of a rate is sufficient without assembling a vestry. So in the twelfth century, the barons and people knew that they were legally liable to certain calls and customarily liable to certain others. These bore the names of gifts and aids, but were really taxes as irresistible as the demand for a poor's rate. They were levied at certain periods and in ascertained amounts fixed by law, charter, or custom. When they became oppressive the people complained or rebelled, but their only means of redress was to bind the king by new oaths, and to keep him to them by force. The command of the purse-strings was not yet acquired, and an extravagant king could not be set on one side like an extravagant guardian or an improvident churchwarden. The great council at its best, or on the theory of its most enthusiastic admirers, was a very different thing from a constitutional parliament.

Process of taxation carried on apparently without the action of the council.

In this review of the internal policy of Henry II., I have, as may easily be seen, inclined to follow the old-fashioned view of the position of his reign in our history, and not the more modern one propounded but not demonstrated by Sir Francis Palgrave.[1] It is not without much thought and study that I have ventured to differ from so great an authority, from one who combined so many of the qualifications of the perfect historian—student, lawyer, and philosopher. But I must distinctly refuse to acknowledge in Henry's measures anything that should entitle his reign to be called a second conquest, or to allow that any great revolution was effected by him.

Sir Francis Palgrave's view of the reign;

In the following passage the great historian gives some of the grounds of his theory. "It is most certain "that after the accession of the Plantagenets we find a "very great similarity between the laws of Normandy "and the laws of England. Both belonged to one active

as a period of revolution.

[1] *Normandy and England*, iii. 601.

Sir Francis Palgrave's theory of the reign of Henry II.

" and powerful sovereign, one system of administration " prevailed. It was after one and the same course of " business that the money was counted on the exchequer " table on either side of the sea: the bailiffs in the " Norman bailliages passed their accounts just as the " sheriffs to whom the bailiwicks of the shires were " granted in England; and the breves by which the " king administered the law, whether in the kingdom or " the duchy, are most evidently germane to each other. " In all these circumstances I can find the most evident " and cogent proof that a great revolution was effected, " not by William, but by Henry Plantagenet."

His view accounted for.

This is not an isolated passage, but a specimen of a theory into which its illustrious author was drawn by under-estimating the actual changes introduced at the conquest, and the formal character of the portions of the old system which were retained. It was necessary to account for the phænomena of the later age by supposing a period of rapid change, and for that later date, the power and genius of Henry II. seemed to account. But the arguments of the passage here quoted amount to very little, and for the most part the indications apply equally to the reign of Henry I. In his reign the laws of England had become so impregnated with feudalism, that the element could not be eliminated even in the attempt to recall and codify the laws of the older race. We cannot say that they had become Norman, because there are so few vestiges of Norman customs with which they can be compared, and because the probability is great that the kings, having developed a system of law or custom in their insular dominions, rather assimilated the Norman practice to the English than the reverse. The exchequer was governed on exactly the same principles in Henry I.'s reign, as in Henry II.'s; and the Norman exchequer and the English were under Henry I. administered on the same plan and by members of the same family. The actual forms of judicial procedure

His arguments apply equally to the reign of Henry I.

which were established under Henry II. are distinctly traceable under his grandfather, and although the legal reforms of Henry II. run into details and have peculiarities which distinguish them, and even give them a true claim to the title of original conceptions, they do, at least the most important of them, distinctly retain as strong features of Anglo-Saxon as of Norman parentage. And this Sir Francis Palgrave has himself shown even whilst he ascribes to the heir of the Anglo-Saxon kings the final abolition of the Anglo-Saxon legislation. There cannot be in the mere application to novel disseisin and mortdauncester, of the mode of procedure which had been long in use for other matters; nor in Henry's extending to his English subjects forms of process which had been the privilege of his Norman ones, grounds for so sweeping a charge.

Henry II.'s reforms not revolutionary.

Henry's genius as a legislator is exemplified rather in the application and combination of principles, than in the origination of them. That his reign witnessed the amalgamation of the free of both nation, is an evident fact. That it was the period of the more complete depression of the unfree is a theory that depends chiefly on our ignorance of their status, not only in the preceding, but in the following reigns.

Character of his legislation not originative.

Question of slavery in England most obscure.

A priori a period of despotic oppression, a reign of terror, like that of Rufus, thirty years of rigorous systematic discipline like that of Henry I., or twenty years of anarchy such as had existed under Stephen, might seem a much more likely occasion for such a revolution as that of which Sir Francis Palgrave writes. But for the revolution itself proof is wanting, and even if the phænomena which are ascribed to its effects are granted to have such an origin, it seems strange justice to fix for the period of its occurrence a reign in which every recorded measure tended to peace and to the perfect equality of the two nationalities. As for serfdom, far too little is known to enable us to say

Obscurity of the origin of villenage.

what was the actual condition of the lowest class of the people before our formal records begin. We cannot practically distinguish between the freedom of a ceorl under the Confessor and the slavery of the nativus under Henry II.: the former was in certain senses bound; in certain senses the latter was free. We are not sure of the distinction between the villein regardant and the villein in gross: we know that the mediæval serf was never so low in condition as the Anglo-Saxon theow. It may with some show of proof be denied that personal slavery, or any slavery apart from land services, ever existed in England after the Conquest. As soon as the villein class really emerges in history, it is as a class whose very disabilities imply corresponding privileges.

No sufficient reason for charging it on Henry II.

But whatever were the disabilities, and whatever were the privileges, the fact of their legal position first appearing in the work of Glanvill, is a very insufficient argument for ascribing the depression of the class to the measures of Henry II.

What did Henry really abolish?

If the constitution of England had become so feudalized before the Conquest that William had in the first instance little else to do than to take the place of Edward, what is meant by saying that Henry II. created a revolution by abolishing Anglo-Saxon legislation? What was it that he set aside? The system of Alfred or that of Edward? If that of Alfred, then the theory of the feudalism of Edward falls to the ground; if that of Edward, then was it really his feudalism or his remnant of the old polity that was now abolished? Sir Francis Palgrave might mean the latter; I should be inclined to say the former. But whatever Henry abolished he put in the place of it a system compounded of the wisest parts of both laws; he developed and applied the principles on which the Conqueror might have acted had the revolt of 1067 and 1068 never taken place.

The feudal influence in government.

The length of Henry's reign, the comparative peace which the country enjoyed during it; the uniform di-

rection of his measures, the actual consensus of his counsellors, the ready acceptance of his reforms, all combine to give it a character of consolidation, and of power which, however highly we may be inclined to estimate it, we shall overrate, if we ascribe to it features which it did not possess. It has every mark of a period of progress, of organic growth, of steady development. It has none of a period of revolution. It was destructive of Norman usurpation, constructive of English freedom. Historically, it raised the people by annihilating their oppressors; made their interests for the time one with the interests of the crown; gave to the fabric of society a stability, and to the constituent elements of society a distinctness of character and definiteness, which enabled them to recognize their relations to each other; and when the time came for further change, to distinguish friend from foe, to combine without confusion. The nobility that Henry humbled was that of Normandy; the nobility that he founded was that of England; nor is it a mere ingenious calculation, but a proof of the real tendency of his government, that whilst of the allies of the Conqueror, every one, either by himself or by his heirs, had incurred forfeiture before the end of the reign of Henry I.; of the signatories of the great charter nearly every one owed his position in the country to the fact that he or his fathers had been among the servants of Henry II.

Consolidation the great feature of the reign;

not revolution.

Construction, not destruction.

Combination without confusion.

Creation of a new nobility.

[1] If Henry's character as a constitutional sovereign is

Conclusion

[1] The text of the agreement by which the barons bound Stephen to rule, and also bound Henry before assenting to his arrangement with Stephen, does not seem to exist The treaty between Stephen an Henry makes no mention of the compact, and is simply a contrac for the succession. (Fœd. i. 18.) The compact is described by Robert de Monte (Bouquet, xiii. 296) thus: "Quod dux post mortem regis, si "ipse eum superviveret, pacifice "et absque contradictione regnum "haberet; juratum est etiam quod "possessiones quæ direptæ erant "ab invasoribus ad antiquos et "legitimos possessores revocarentur "quorum fuerant tempore Henrici "optimi regis. De castellis etiam "quæ post mortem prædicti regis "facta fuerant, ut everterentur quo-

Henry observed the terms on which he was raised to the throne.

to be estimated by his observance of the compact under which he came to the throne, the considerations into which I have gone in the foregoing preface ought to enable us to define it pretty clearly. He was faithful to the letter of his engagements. He recovered the demesne rights of the crown, so that his royal dignity did not depend for maintenance on constant taxation. He restored the usurped estates; he destroyed the illegal castles, and the system which they typified; he maintained the royal hold on the lawful ones, and the equality and uniformity of justice, which their usurpers had subverted: he restored internal peace, and with it plenty, as the riches of England in the following reign amply testify. He arranged the administration of justice by enacting good laws and appointing faithful judges. He

Beneficial results of his policy.

"rum multitudo ad CCCLXXV. summam excreverat." Ralph de Diceto (527) has the following: "Regalia passim a proceribus usurpata recipiet: munitiones suis (Stephani) fundatæ temporibus diruentur, quarum numerus usque ad undecies centum quindecim excrevit . . . Prædiis assignabit colonos, insularios ædificiis, nemoribus saltuarios, feris ditabit indagines, ovibus decorabit montana, pascua replebit armentis. Clerus nunc demum dominabitur, pacis tranquillitatem indicet, muneribus sordidis non gravabitur, ab extraordinariis vacationem habebit. Defensivæ locorum seu vicecomites locis statuentur statutis, non in votum exercendæ cupiditatis abibunt; non quenquam ex odio persequentur; non gratificabuntur amicis; non indulgentiis crimina sublevabunt, suum cuique reservabunt ex integro: metu pœnarum nonnullos afficient; præmiorum exhortatione plurimos excitabunt. Fures terrebuntur in furca, prædones sententia capitali plectentur. Milites caligati gladios suos in usum vomeris ligonisque convertent A castris ad aratra, a tentoriis ad ergasteria. Flandrensium plurimi revocabuntur, et quas nostratibus operas indixerunt dominis suis ex necessitate persolvent. Quid multis? Ab excubiis fatigati a communi lætitia respirabunt. Innocens et quieta rusticitas otio relevabitur. Negotiatores commerciorum vicissitudo locupletabit. Forma publica percussa eadem in regno celebris erit ubique moneta." In this passage the legal compact takes the form of a prophecy or joyful anticipation. Matthew Paris (p. 86), places the treaty at Wallingford, but there is much obscurit as to both the time and place.

restored the currency; he encouraged commerce, he maintained the privileges of the towns; and, without encouraging an aggressive spirit, armed his people for self-defence. He sustained the form, and somewhat of the spirit of national representation. The clergy had grounds of complaint against him for very important reasons; but their chief complaints were caused by their preference of the immunities of their class to the common safeguard of justice. Henry's personal character, his ultimate aims, his principles of policy, the very means which he used to carry out these desirable ends, are matters of a different kind, to be judged on other principles, and to be acquitted or condemned by a more competent tribunal than distant posterity.

APPENDICES TO PREFACE.

APPENDIX I.

OUTLINE ITINERARY OF HENRY II.

[The following attempt at an Itinerary of Henry II. will be found useful in illustration of the foregoing preface and the general history of the reign; and it will afford a clue to the most important parallel passages in other chronicles of the period. The comparative paucity of detail is accounted for by the fact that Henry did not date his charters by the month or year, so that one very fertile source of information is cut off. The references to Robert de Monte are to the edition by Pistorius, ed. Struve; where not especially made to Bouquet.]

A.D. 1154.

Oct. 25. Stephen dies. Gervase, 1375.

Nov. — to Dec. 6. BARFLEUR: "ibidem per unum mensem ventum expectavit." R. de Diceto, 529.

Dec. 8. "Apud Hostreham applicuit." Gerv. 1376.

Dec. —. "Wintoniam pervenit." Gerv. 1376.

Dec. —. "Lundoniam petiit." Gerv. 1376.

Dec. 19. Coronation. WESTMINSTER. Gerv. 1376. R. de Monte, 885.

Dec. 25. BERMONDSEY. "Tenuit rex curiam suam, cum "principibus suis de statu regni et pace reformanda tractans." Gerv. 1377.

A.D. 1155.

Jan. —. YORK. "Eboracum et occidentales Angliæ partes "visitavit." Gerv. 1377.

SCARBOROUGH. W. Newburgh.

Feb. —. NOTTINGHAM. "Ab Eboraco digrediente in provinciam de Notingeham." Gerv. 1377.

Feb. 28. Henry, son of Henry and Eleanor, born at LONDON.

Mar. —. LONDON. Chron. Battle, 72. "Tenuit generale concilium "et renovavit pacem et leges et consuetudines per "Angliam ab antiquis temporibus constitutos." "Convocatis universis fere regni primoribus." Gerv. 1377.

A.D. 1155.

Mar. 13. Submission of Roger of Hereford. Gerv. 1378.

Mar. 27. Easter.

April 10. WALLINGFORD. "Conventus generalis." Gerv. 1378. R. de Monte, 886.

Mar. 27 to May 15. "In tempore Paschali." Chr. Battle, 75. Revolt of Hugh de Mortimer.

CLEOBURY.

WIGMORE.

July 7. BRIDGENORTH. R de Monte, 886.

July 8. BRIDGENORTH. "Mandans per Angliam universam "archiepiscopos, episcopos, et abbatum plurimos, "comites et barones universos quarto die præce-"dente festum Sancti Benedicti æstivi temporis "ibidem convenire." Chr. Bell. 75. Submission of Hugh de Mortimer. R. de Monte, p. 886.

July 10, 11. BRIDGENORTH. Chr. Battle, 75.

Sept. 29. WINCHESTER. "Habito concilio de conquirendo regno "Hiberniæ et Willelmo fratri suo dando, cum "optimatibus suis tractavit." R. de Monte, 887.

Dec. 25. WESTMINSTER. "Concilium suum apud Westmonas-"terium." Chr. Bell. 76.

A.D. 1156.

Jan. 10. DOVER to WITSAND. R. de Monte, 887; Ann. Camb. 46.

Feb. 2. ROUEN. R. de Monte, 887.

Feb. 5. "In sequenti Dominica locutus cum rege Franciæ "Ludovico in confinio Normanniæ et Franciæ." R. de Monte 887. Bouquet, xiii. 298.

Feb. —. "Inde rediens Rothomagum." R. de Monte, 887.

"In Andegavensem pagum." R. de Monte, 887.

"Cepit castrum Mirebellum et Chinonem longa "obsidione." R. de Monte, 888.

July —. Loudun surrendered; submission of Geoffrey of Nantes. R. de Monte, 888.

Nov. 11. SAUMUR. Chron. Battle, 76, 77.

A.D. 1157.

MORTAIN. Chartulary of Mount S. Michel. (D'Anisy, MS. i. 277, 280.)

Mar. 31. Easter.

April 7. "Post octavas Paschæ, apud Barbefluvium transivit "in Angliam." R. de Monte, 889.

SOUTHAMPTON. Chron. Battle, 84.

LONDON. Chr. Battle, 84.

ONGAR. Chr. Battle, 8

A.D. 1157.

May 19. S. EDMUND'S. "Ubi tunc corona sua regia insigniri "debebat." Chr. Battle, 84. "Pro portandis "coronis regis ad S. Ædmundum, xxii. *s*." Pipe "Roll, 3 Hen. II. p. 107. "Diademate insignitus "regali, multis ibidem convenientibus, archie-"piscopo scilicet Cantuariæ, episcopis, abba-"tibus, comitibus, baronibus et populi multitu-"dine." Chr. Battle, 85. Cf. Alberic of Trois Fontaines, ad 1155, ed. Leibnitz, p. 325.

May 23. COLCHESTER. Chr. Battle, 85.

May 24. COLCHESTER. Chr. Battle, 85.

May 25. to May 28. COLCHESTER. Chr. Battle, 104.

June 24. Preparation for expedition to Wales. R. de Monte, 889.

July 17. NORTHAMPTON. Concilium. Gerv. 1380, 1378. Cf. Radevic, I. vii. ap. Urstis.

Expedition to WALES. Brut, &c. 185.

CHESTER (Hoveden, 281). Ann. Camb. 46.

BASINGWERK. R. de Monte, 890. Ann. Camb. 46.

COLESHULLE. Gir. Camb. Itin. Camb. ii. 10.

CENNADLOG; Brut, &c., 187. Battle.

RHUDDLAN. Brut, &c. 187. Ann. Camb. 47.

TAMWORTH (Pipe Roll, 87).

Sept. 8. Richard born at Oxford.

Sept. to Dec. In Nottinghamshire and the Peak (Pipe Roll, 90 and 152) with the king of Scotland.

Dec. 25. LINCOLN. Coronation. "In corredio regis ad Na-"tale." Pipe Roll, Linc. p. 136. Newburgh, ii. 9. Hoveden, 281.

A.D. 1158.

Apr. 20. Easter. WORCESTER. Coronation. Hoveden, 281. "In conducendis coronis regis ad Wirecestre de "Wintonia, xiiii. *s*. viii. *d*." Pipe Rolls, p. 175.

June 24. CARLISLE. R. de Monte, 890. Hoveden, 281. Pipe Rolls, pp. 119, 175.

GLOUCESTER (Pipe Roll, 168).

CLARENDON (113).

WOODSTOCK (113, 115).

PORTSMOUTH (115).

Aug. 14. "Transfretavit in Normanniam." R. de Monte. Cf. Bouquet, xiii. 300.

Aug. 22. Interview with Lewis VII. on the Epte, between Gisors and Neufmarché. R. de Monte, 891. Bouquet, xiii. 300.

ARGENTAN.

A.D. 1158.
Sept. 8. ARGENTAN. R. de Monte, 891.
PARIS. R. de Monte (Bouquet, xiii. 300).
MANTES. R. de Monte (Bouquet, xiii. 300).
BRITTANY.
Sept. 23. Geoffrey, son of Henry and Eleanor, born in England.
Sept. 29. AVRANCHES. R. de Monte, 891.
MONT S. MICHEL.
S. JACQUES, Chart. Mt. S. Michel. (D'Anisy, MS. i. 286.
PONT ORSON. R. de Monte, 891.
NANTES, R. de Monte, 891.
Oct. 7–10? THOUARS. R. de Monte, 891.
LE MANS. Gerv. 1380.
NORMANDY.
PACEY.
EVREUX.
NEUFBOURG.
BEC.
} R. de Monte, 891.
Nov. 23. MONT S. MICHEL. R. de Monte, 891. Gerv. 1380.
AVRANCHES. R. de Monte, 891.
BAYEUX. Gerv. 1380.
CAEN. Gerv. 1380.
ROUEN. Gerv. 1380.
Dec. Peace with Champagne. R. de Monte, 892.
Dec. 25. CHERBOURG. R. de Monte, 892.

A.D. 1159.
Jan. —. BLAYE. League with Raymond of Barcelona.
Lent. (Begins Feb. 25.) POICTIERS. Bouquet, xiii. 302.
Mar. 22. Preparations for expedition to Toulouse. R. de Monte, 892.
April 12. Easter.
May 21–23. BEC. R. de Monte. Bouquet, xiii. 302. Three days.
May 24. ROUEN. R. de Monte. Bouquet, xiii. 302.
June 6–8. HILLIRICOURT. R. de Monte. Bouquet, xiii. 302.
June 24. POICTIERS. R. de Monte. Bouquet, xiii. 302.
July 6. Near TOULOUSE. Conference with Lewis VII.
War of Toulouse. R. de Monte. Bouquet, xiii. 302.
Sept. —. AUVILLAR. Palgrave, Commonwealth, II. xv.
Cir. Sept. 29. Sets out on return.
Oct. —. CAHORS.
NORMANDY.
BEAUVOISIS.
GERBEROI.
} R. de Monte, 894.

A.D. 1159.

ESTREPAGNI. Cf. Charter of Preaux, in the Normandy Transcripts, No. 137, Rolls House MS. R. de Monte. Bouquet, xiii. 302.
Dec. —. Truce with France. R. de Monte, 894.
Dec. 25. FALAISE. R. de Monte, 894. Bouquet, xiii. 304.

A.D. 1160.

Jan. —. FALAISE.
May —. Peace with France. R. de Monte, 895.
July —. NEUFMARCHE. Ecclesiastical council. R. de Monte, 895. W. FitzStephen, S. T. C. i. 194.
Oct. —. Conference with Lewis VII. R. de Monte, 895.
Nov. 2. NEUFBOURG. Marriage of Henry and Margaret. R. de Diceto, 532.
GISORS. NEAUFLE. NEUFCHÂTEL. AMBOISE. CHAUMONT. FRETEVAL. } R. de Monte, 896. R. de Diceto, 532.
Dec. 25. LE MANS. R. de Monte, 896.

A.D. 1161.

Jan. —. LE MANS.
March 1. LE MANS. R. de Monte, 896.
April 16. Easter. War.
War in the Vexin. R. de Monte, 896.
War in the Dunois. R. de Monte, 896.
July —. In Guienne. R. de Monte, 896.
Aug. 10. CHATILLON on the Dordogne. R. de Monte, 896.
Peace at FRETEVAL. R. de Diceto, 533.
Dec. 25. BAYEUX. R. de Monte, 897.

A.D. 1162.

Jan. —. BAYEUX.
Feb. 25. ROUEN. "Congregavit episcopos, abbates, barones "totius Normanniæ—querimoniam faciens de episcopis et eorum ministris et vicecomitibus suis, "et jussit ut concilium Juliæbonæ teneretur." R. de Monte, 897.
FECAMP. R. de Monte, 897.
Sept. —. TOUCI. Meeting with the Pope. R. de Monte, 898.
Sept. 18. DEOLS (?). (Jaffé, 687).
Dec. —. BARFLEUR. R. de Monte, 898.
Dec. 25. CHERBOURG. R. de Monte, 898.

A.D. 1163.

Jan. 25. CHERBOURG to SOUTHAMPTON. R. de Diceto, 534. Herbert of Bosham, i. 87.

March 3. LONDON. Council. Palgrave, Commonwealth, II. xxii.

March 6. LONDON.

March 8. WESTMINSTER. R. de Diceto, 533.

Mar. 17. CANTERBURY. Gervase, 1384.

Mar. 24. WINDSOR.

Mar. 31. WINDSOR. Richard de Anesty, xxiii. (Palgrave.) Court for the trial of Henry of Essex.

READING. R. Anesty, xxiii.

WALLINGFORD. R. Anesty, xxiii.

WALES. Ann. Margam, 15. "Usque ad PENCHAIDERN." Ann. Cambr. 49. "Per maritima de Guladmorgan "et Gouher viam versus Caermarthin et usque "Pencadair intrando, et per Elenith et Melenith "revertendo." Gir. Camb. It. Camb. ii. 10.

July 1. WOODSTOCK. Council. Homage of Scotland and Wales and question of Danegeld. R. de Diceto, 536. Grim. S. T. C. i. 21. Roger of Pontigny, i. 113.

Oct. 1. WESTMINSTER.[1] Council of bishops. Anon. Lambeth, 88. Summa Causæ S.T.C. ii. 251. Gervase, 1384.

NORTHAMPTON. R. Pontigny, 117.

GLOUCESTER. R. Pontigny, 120,

WOODSTOCK. R. Pontigny, 122.

A.D. 1164.

Jan. 25–27. CLARENDON. Great council. R. de Diceto, 536.

PORCHESTER. Roger of Pontigny, i. 128.

WOODSTOCK. W. Fitz-Stephen, S. T. C. 218.

April 12. Easter.

April 19–21. READING. R. de Monte, 899. Herb. Bosham, S. T. C. vii. 97.

WOODSTOCK. Herb. Bosham, i. 132. Ann. Bermondsey.

Oct. 6–13. NORTHAMPTON. Great council. R. de Diceto, 537. "Omnes qui de rege tenerent in capite." Grim. S. T. C. i. 39.

Dec. 25. MARLBOROUGH. S. T. C. i. 243; vi. 278.

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[1] Henry and Thomas Becket were present at the translation of Edward the Confessor at Westminster either this year or the following. If it took place on the 13th of October, it must have been in 1163; but the dedication of that day may be referred with more certainty to the translation effected in the year 1269. The earlier translation took place in 1163, according to Matthew Paris, the Annals of Waverley, Winchester, &c.

A.D. 1165.

Lent (Feb. 17 to April 4). To NORMANDY. R. de Monte, 900.

Feb. 17. MORTEMER. Alberic of Trois Fontaines, 343.

April 11. GISORS. Conference with Lewis VII. R. de Monte, 900.
ROUEN. Conference with Philip of Flanders and Reginald of Cologne. R. de Monte, 900.
WESTMINSTER. R. de Diceto, 539.
Expedition to Wales. R. de Monte, 900. Gilb. Foliot, i. 238. Gervase, 1398. Ann. Waverley, 239. RHUDDLAN. Brut, &c., 199. "Ad CRUCEM OSWALT usque pervenit." Ann. Camb. 50. Gir. Camb. It. Camb. ii. 10. Vale of CEIRIOG. Brut, &c., 201. "In monte BERWEN." Ann. Camb. 50. CHESTER. Brut, 203. "In Angliam reversus est." Ann. Camb. 50.

A.D. 1166.

OXFORD. Council of bishops. R. de Diceto, 539. Ann. Theokesb. 49.
CLARENDON. Council. (See above, pp. lix–lxi.

Lent *incip.* (March 3) to NORMANDY. R. de Diceto, 539. R. de Monte, 901.

April 24. Easter. ANGERS. Joh. Salisb. Epp. 144, 168. Conference with Lewis VII. R. de Monte, 901.

May 10. LE MANS. Gerv. 1399.

May 17. LE MANS. Gerv. 1399.
CHINON. Joh. Salisb. Ep. 145.

June 24. FOUGERES. S. T. C. iii. 196. R. de Monte, 901. R. de Diceto, 547. Joh. Salisb. Ep. 176.

July 13, 14. FOUGERES. Chartulary of Mont S. Michel (D'Anisy, MS. ii. 291, 292).
THOUARS. Homage of Brittany. R. de Monte, 901.
RENNES. R. de Monte, 901.
COMBORT. R. de Monte, 901.
DOL. R. de Monte, 901.
MONT S. MICHEL. R. de Monte, 901.
GENEST. R. de Monte, 901.
CAEN. S. T. C. iv. 260.
TOQUES. S. T. C. iv. 261.
ROUEN.
CAEN.
—— Conference with Flanders. S. T. C. 261.

Nov. 18. TOURS. S. T. C. iv. 185, 262.[1] Conference with Theobald of Blois.

Nov. 19. CHINON. S. T. C. 262. Conference with the Poictevins.

Nov. 30. ROUEN. S. T. C. iv. 185.

A.D. 1166.

Dec. 6. ROUEN. S. T. C. iv. 261. Conference with Matthew of Boulogne.[1]

Dec. 25. POICTIERS. R. de Monte, 901.

A.D. 1167.

Lent (Feb. 22 to April 9). GRANDMONT. Conference with Count of S. Giles. R. de Monte, 901.

Easter. April 9. Expedition to Auvergne. R. de Monte, 901.

June 4. In the Vexin. R. de Monte, 902.

CHAUMONT. R. de Monte, 902.

Aug. —. Truce with France.

Sept. —. Expedition to Brittany. R. de Monte, 903.

Nov. 26. ARGENTAN. S. T. C. iv. 269. Conference with the cardinals.

Nov. 29. ARGENTAN. S. T. C. iv. 269. To Dec. 5.

Dec. 25. ARGENTAN. "Magna curia." R. de Monte, 903.

A.D. 1168.

Revolt in Poictou.

LUSIGNAN. R. de Monte, 904.

April 7. PACY. Conference with French nobles. R. de Monte, 904. Joh. Salisb. Ep. 244.

May 12. Conference with Louis VII. Joh. Salisb. Ep. 244.

Expedition to Brittany.
CASTELLUM JOCELINI.
PORHOET.
VANNES.
AURAI.
DINANT.
HEDDÉ.
TINTINIAC.
BECHEREL.
LEON.
DINANT.
ALETH.
} R. de Monte, 904.

[1] These dates, which occur in two letters, in S. T. C. Epp. 344 and 378, the former written between Nov. 18 and Nov. 30, are fixed to the year 1166 by these facts: (1.) The empress Maud is spoken of as still alive: she died Sept. 10, 1167. (2.) The visit of the king of Scotland is mentioned; he arrived in the autumn of 1166. (3.) There is no reference to the mission of the legates, which took place about the same time in the next year. (4.) The bishop of Hereford, who died Feb. 27, 1167, is spoken of as living. The news of the death of the bishop of Lincoln (Jan. 27, 1167), and of the earl of Essex (Oct. 21, 1167), mentioned in Ep. 344, must have been unauthenticated, unless those events are wrongly dated by the historians, or the letter itself has been interpolated. The dates are very important in reference to transactions with Flanders and Boulogne.

A.D. 1168.

July 1. La Ferté Bernard. Conference with Lewis VII. R. de Monte, 904. Joh. Salisb. Ep. 246.
In the Vimieu, R. de Monte, 905.
Brueroles. R. de Monte, 905.
Neufchâtel. R. de Monte, 905.
Perche. R. de Monte, 905.
Dec. 25. Argentan. R. de Monte, 905.

A.D. 1169.

Jan. —. Argentan.
Jan. 6. Montmirail. Conference with Lewis VII. R. de Monte, 905. Gervase, 1404.
S. Germain en Laye. R. de Monte, 906.
Lent (March 5 to April 20).
Expedition to Gascony.
S. Machaire. Ep. Foliot, 491. Mon. Angl. vi. 818.
Aug. —. Returns to Normandy. R. de Monte, 906.
Aug. 15. Argentan. S. T. C. iv. 277.
Aug. 23. Domfront. S. T. C. iv. 277.
Aug. 24. Domfront. S. T. C. iv. 278.
Aug. 31. Bayeux. S. T. C. iv. 278. Diceto, 550.
Sept. 1. Bur. S. T. C. iv. 279.
Rouen. S. T. C. iv. 220.
Nov. 18. Montmartre. Gerv. 1408. S. T. C. iv. 216. Diceto, 550.
Dec. 25. Nantes. B. P. 3.

A.D. 1170.

Jan. —. Nantes.
Feb. 2. Seez. B. P. i. 3.
March 3. To Portsmouth. B. P. i. 3. Gervase, 1410.
April 5. Easter. Windsor. Curia. "Fere omnes nobiliores "et majores Angliæ." B. P. i. 4.
London. Council. "Magnum concilium—de statutis "regni." B. P. i. 4. "Convocatis optimatibus "suis." Gervase, 1410.
Instructions given for inquest of sheriffs.
May 31. David of Scotland knighted. Chr. Melrose.
June 14. Westminster. Coronation of Henry, junior. Gerv. 1412. B. P. i. 5. "Omnes comites et barones et "francos tenentes."
June 24. Portsmouth to Barfleur. B. P. i. 6.
Falaise. W. FitzStephen, S.T.C. i. 269.
July 6. La Ferté Bernard. B. P. i. 6.
Vendome. B. P. i. 6.
July 20–22. Freteval. S. T. C. iv. 304; i. 272.
Aug. 10. Mote de Ger, near Domfront. B. P. i. 6. R. de Monte, 908.

A.D. 1170.

Sept. 29. ROQUEMADOUR. B. P. i. 7. R. de Monte, 908.
TOURS. Herb. Bosham, S. T. C. vii. 307. Fitz-Stephen, i. 278.
Oct. 12, 13. AMBOISE. W. FitzStephen, S. T. C. i. 278. B. P. i. 8.
CHAUMONT. Herb. Bos. 308.
CHINON. Ep. Gilb. Foliot, cccexvii.
LOCHES. Ep. Gilb. Foliot, cccexcviii.
Nov. 23. MONT LUÇON in BERRY. B. P. i. 10.
Dec. 25. BUR. B. P. i. 11. R. de Monte, 909.

A.D. 1171.

Jan. —. BUR. B. P. i. 11. R. de Monte, 909.
Jan. —. ARGENTAN. B. P. i. 14. S. T. C. 203 (for 40 days). Herb. Bos. S. T. C. viii. 34.
Cir. Feb. 10 (Lent, Feb. 10 to March 28). PONTORSON (15 days). R. de Monte, 900.
Mar. 28. Easter.
May 2. Rogations. PONTORSON. R. de Monte, 909.
May 16. Pentecost. PONTORSON. R. de Monte, 909.
July —. ARGENTAN. Council of Barons. R. de Monte, 910.
Aug. 3. Lands at Portsmouth. B. P. i. 24. R. de Monte, 910.
Sept. 8. LLWYN DANET (?). Brut, 211.
Sept. 14–20. PEMBROKE. B. P. i. 25. Brut, 213.
Sept. 26–29. S. DAVID'S. Brut, 213.
Sept. 29. PEMBROKE. Brut, 213.
Oct. 16. MILFORD. B. P. i. 25. Hoveden, 301.
Oct. 17. CROCH, near WATERFORD. B. P. i. 25.
Oct. 18. WATERFORD. B. P. i. 25. (15 days.) Hoveden, 301.
Nov. 6. B. P. i. 28.
Nov. 11. DUBLIN (to March 1). Hoveden, 301.
Dec. 25. DUBLIN. B. P. i. 29.

A.D. 1172.

Jan. —. DUBLIN.
Jan. 1 to March 1. DUBLIN. Hoveden, 301.
March 1. WEXFORD (to April 16). B. P. i. 29.
Apr. 16. Easter.
Apr. 17. WATERFORD to S. DAVID'S. B. P. i. 30. Hoveden. Gir. Camb. De Exp. Hib. i. 37. Ann. Camb. 54.
HAVERFORDWEST. Gir. Camb. Exp. Hib. i. 37.
Apr. 22. CARDIFF. Gir. Camb. Exp. Hib. i. 39.
Apr. 23. CARDIFF to NEWPORT. Gir. Camb. i. 39. Brut, 219.
May —. PORTSMOUTH to BARFLEUR. B. P. i. 30.
May 16. GORRAM. S. T. C. i. 372.
May 17. SAVIGNY. Ib. 372.

A.D. 1172.

May 21. Avranches. Ep. Foliot, S. T. C. vi. 123.
Caen. B. P. i. 31. R. de Monte, 911.
Brittany. B. P. i. 31.
Sept. 21. Normandy. B. P. i. 31.
Sept. 27. Avranches. B. P. i. 32.
Sept. 28. Avranches. R. de Monte, 911. Ecclesiastical council. B. P. i. 33.
Dec. —. Normandy to Anjou. B. P. i. 35.
Dec. 25. Chinon. R. de Monte, 911. B. P. i. 35.

A.D. 1173.

Jan. —. Chinon.
Jan. —. Expedition to Auvergne.
Feb. 2. Montferrand. B. P. i. 35. R. de Monte, 911.
Feb. 25. Limoges. B. P. i. 36–41. Geoff. Vigeois, p. 319.
Feb. 28 or March 2. Council of Limoges breaks up after seven days' sitting. G. V. (Labbé, Bibl. MSS. vol. ii.), 319.
March 7. Chinon. B. P. i. 41.
March 8. Alençon. B. P. i. 42.
Gisors. B. P. i. 42.
April 4. S. Barbe in the Lieuvin. R. de Monte, 912.
April 8. Easter. Alençon. B. P. i. 45.
Aug. 7. Conches. B. P. i. 51.
Aug. 8. Breteuil. B. P. 51. R. de Monte, 915.
Aug. 9. Conches to Verneuil. B. P. i. 55.
Aug. 10. Damville. B. P. i. 56.
Rouen. B. P. i. 56.
Fougeres. R. de Monte, 913.
Aug. 21. Rouen to Dol. B. P. i. 57.
Aug. 23. Dol. B. P. i. 57.
Aug. 26. Dol. B. P. i. 57.
Sept. 8 to Sept. 14. Le Mans. Curia. B. P. i. 59.
Sept. 25. Gisors. B. P. i. 60.
Sept. 26. Gisors. B. P. i. 60.
Nov. —. Anjou.
Nov. 18. Haye. B. P. i. 62.
Prulli, B. P. i. 62.
Campenni, B. P. i. 62.
Nov. 30. Vendome. B. P. i. 62.
Normandy. B. P. i. 63.
Dec. 25. Caen. B. P. i. 63. Bur. R. de Monte, 914.

A.D. 1174.

Truce with France, Jan. 13 to March 31.
Apr. 30. Le Mans. R. de Diceto, 575.
May. 12. Poictiers. R. de Diceto, 575.
Saintes. R. de Diceto 575. B. P. i. 71.

A.D. 1174.

	Returns into ANJOU. B. P. i. 71.
June 11.	ANCENIS. R. de Diceto, 575. B. P. i. 71.
	Returns to NORMANDY. B. P. i. 72.
June 24.	BONNEVILLE. R. de Diceto, 576.
July 8.	BARFLEUR to SOUTHAMPTON. B. P. i. 72.
July 9.	To CANTERBURY. B. P. i. 72.
July 12.	Arrives at CANTERBURY. R. de Dic. 577.
July 13.	CANTERBURY to LONDON. B. P. i. 72.
July 18.	LONDON to HUNTINGDON. B. P. i. 72.
July 19.	Arrives at HUNTINGDON. R. de Dic. 577.
July 21.	HUNTINGDON. B. P. i. 72.
July 24.	SELEHAM. B. P. i. 73.
July 25.	SELEHAM. B. P. i. 73.
July 31.	NORTHAMPTON. B. P. i. 73.
Aug. 7.	PORTSMOUTH. B. P. i. 74. PORCHESTER. R. de Diceto, 578.
Aug. 8.	BARFLEUR. B. P. i. 74.
Aug. 10.	ROUEN. R. de Diceto, 578.
Aug. 11.	ROUEN. B. P. i. 74.
Aug. 12.	ROUEN. B. P. i. 75.
Aug. 13.	ROUEN. B. P. i. 75.
Aug. 14.	ROUEN. B. P. i. 75.
Aug. 15.	ROUEN. B. P. i. 76.
Sept. 8.	GISORS. B. P. i. 76.
	Into POICTOU. B. P. i. 76.
Sept. 23.	POICTIERS. B. P. i. 76.
Sept. 29.	Between TOURS and AMBOISE, MONT LOUIS. B. P. 77. R. de Monte, 916.
Sept. 30.	MONT LOUIS. B. P. i. 77.
Oct. 11.	Between TOURS and AMBOISE. R. de Diceto, 582.
Dec. 8.	VALOGNES. Treaty with William the Lion. R. de Diceto, 584.
Dec. 25.	ARGENTAN. B. P. i. 81. R. de Monte, 916.

A.D. 1175.

Jan. —.	ARGENTAN.
	Expedition into ANJOU. B. P. i. 82.
Feb. 2.	LE MANS. B. P. i. 81. R. de Diceto, 585.
Feb. 24.	GISORS. Conference with Lewis VII. B. P. i. 81.
Feb. 26.	ROUEN. B. P. i. 82.
	Into ANJOU.
Mar. 23.	Returns to NORMANDY. B. P. i. 82.
	CAEN. B. P. i. 82.
April 1.	BUR. R. de Diceto, 585, 586.
	VALOGNES (several days). B. P. i. 83.
Apr. 12.	CHERBOURG. B. P. i. 83.

A.D. 1175.
Apr. 13. Easter. CHERBOURG. B. P. i. 83.
Apr. 22. CAEN. B. P. i. 83.
May 8. BARFLEUR. R. de Diceto, 585.
May 9. PORTSMOUTH. B. P. i. 83.
May 18. LONDON. B. P. i. 84. Ecclesiastical council.
May 28. CANTERBURY. R. de Dic. 585. B. P. i. 91.
June 1. READING. Curia. B. P. i. 91.
June 29. GLOUCESTER. "Magnum concilium." B. P. i. 92.
July 1. WOODSTOCK. "Ecclesiastical council." B. P. i. 93.
July 8. WOODSTOCK. R. de Diceto, 587.
July 9. WOODSTOCK. R. de Diceto, 587.
LICHFIELD. B. P. i. 94.
Aug. 1. NOTTINGHAM. B. P. i. 94.
Aug. 2, &c. NOTTINGHAM. B. P. i. 94. Placitum.
Aug. 10. YORK. B. P. i. 94.
Returns to LONDON. B. P. i. 99.
Sept. —. WINDSOR. B. P. i. 101.
Oct. 6. WINDSOR. Concilium. B. P. i. 103. "Congregatis " . . . archiepiscopo Cantuariensi et episcopis Angliæ et comitibus et baronibus terræ suæ." B. P. i. 101.
Oct. 31. WINCHESTER. B. P. i. 104. R. de Diceto, 587.
Returns to WINDSOR. B. P. i. 106.
Nov. 26. EYNSHAM. R. de Diceto, 588.
Dec. 25. WINDSOR. B. P. i. 106.

A.D. 1176.
Jan. —. WINDSOR.
Jan. 25. NORTHAMPTON. "Magnum concilium de statutis " regni." B. P. i. 107. "Coram episcopis, comi- " tibus, baronibus, militibus et aliis hominibus " suis." R. de Diceto, 588.
Jan. 26. NORTHAMPTON. R. de Diceto, 588.
Mar. 14. WESTMINSTER. (Ecclesiastical council). B. P. i. 112. R. de Dic. 589. Gerv. 1433.
WINCHESTER.
April 4. Easter. WINCHESTER. B. P. i. 115.
May 25. LONDON. Council. R. de Dic. 590. B. P. i. 116.
Aug. 15. WINCHESTER. Council. B. P. i. 118.
Sept. 21. WINCHESTER. R. de Diceto, 594.
Sept. 28. WINDSOR. R. de Diceto, 594.
Sept. 29. WINDSOR. Council. B. P. i. 124.
Oct. 9. FECKENHAM. B. P. i. 126.
Oct. 17. CIRENCESTER. B. P. i. 127.
Nov. 12. WESTMINSTER. Curia. R. de Dic. 595.

A.D. 1176.
Dec. 24. NOTTINGHAM. R. de Dic. 596.
Dec. 25. NOTTINGHAM. B. P. i. 130.

A.D. 1177.
Jan. —. NOTTINGHAM.
Jan. 13. To NORTHAMPTON. "Magnum concilium." B. P. i. 132.
Jan. 20. WINDSOR. B. P. i. 135.
Feb. 2. MARLBOROUGH. Curia. B. P. i. 138.
Feb. 22. WINCHESTER. B. P. i. 138.
Mar. 9. WINDSOR. B. P. i. 139.
Mar. 13–16. LONDON. B. P. i. 144–157. Council.
MARLBOROUGH. B. P. i. 157.
April 17. READING. B. P. i. 158.
April 21. CANTERBURY. B. P. i. 158.
April 22. DOVER. B. P. i. 158.
April 23. WYE. B. P. i. 159.
April 24. WYE. B. P. i. 159.
LONDON. B. P. i. 159.
May 1. S. EDMUND'S. B. P. i. 159.
May 2. ELY. B. P. i. 159.
GEDDINGTON. B. P. i. 159.
May 8. WINDSOR. B. P. i. 160.
OXFORD. B. P. i. 162. Council.
May 22. AMESBURY. B. P. i. 165.
May 29. WINCHESTER. B. P. i. 166.
June 3. WINCHESTER. B. P. i. 168.
MARLBOROUGH. B. P. i. 172.
LONDON. B. P. i. 173.
June 11. WALTHAM. B. P. i. 173.
WALTHAM to LONDON. B. P. i. 175.
June 12. LONDON. Whitsuntide. B. P. i. 175.
WOODSTOCK. B. P. i. 175–177.
July 1. WINCHESTER. B. P. i. 178. Council and levy.
July 9. STOKES, near Portsmouth. B. P. i. 180.
July 10. STANSTEDE. B. P. i. 180.
July 12. STANSTEDE. B. P. i. 180.
July 10–17. STANSTEDE. B. P. i. 182.
July 17. WINCHESTER. B. P. i. 182.
July 17 to Aug. 15. WINCHESTER. B. P. i. 190.
Aug. 17. PORTSMOUTH. B. P. i. 190. R. de Monte, 919.
Aug. 18. CAPLEVIC. B. P. i. 190.
Sept. 11. ROUEN. B. P. i. 190.
Sept. 21. NONANCOURT. Gué S. Remy. B. P. i. 191. R. de Monte, 919.
Sept. 26. NONANCOURT. R. de Dic. 599.

A.D. 1177.
Verneuil. B. P. i. 194.
Alençon. B. P. i. 195.
Oct. 10. Argentan. B. P. i. 195.
Châteauroux. B. P. i. 195.
La Châtre. B. P. i. 195.
Limousin. B. P. i. 196.
After Nov. 11. Graszai. B. P. i. 196.
Dec. —. Grandmont. B. P. i. 196.
Dec. 25. Angers. B. P. i. 198. R. de Monte, 921.

A.D. 1178.
Jan. —. Angers.
Mar. 19. Bec. R. de Monte, 921.
April 9. Easter. Angers. B. P. i. 198.
Nonancourt. R. de Monte, 922.
July 15. Dighesmuta. B. P. i. 207. R. de Monte, 922. R. de Diceto, 600.
Canterbury. B. P. i. 207. R. de Diceto, 600.
Aug. 6. Woodstock. B. P. i. 207. R. de Diceto, 600.
Winchester. B. P. i. 220.
Dec. 25. Winchester. Curia. B. P. i. 221.

A.D. 1179.
Jan. —. Winchester. B. P. i. 221.
Windsor. B. P. i. 221.
Mar. 11. Mid-Lent.
April 1. Easter. Winchester. B. P. i. 238.
Windsor. Council. B. P. i. 238.
May 20. Pentecost. Curia. B. P. i. 240.
Aug. 22. Dover. B. P. i. 241. R. de Diceto, 604.
Aug. 23. Canterbury. B. P. i. 241. Gervase, 1457.
Aug. 26. Dover. B. P. i. 242.
Aug. 27. Westminster. R. de Diceto, 606.
Dec. 25. Nottingham. Curia. B. P. i. 244. R. de Monte, 926.

A.D. 1180.
Jan. —. Nottingham.
After April 1. Reading. R. de Diceto, 610.
Portsmouth. R. de Dic. 610.
Alençon. Rot. Norm. i. 18.
April 20. Le Mans. R. de Monte, 926. Rot. Norm. i. 18.
June 28. Gisors. B. P. i. 246. R. de Diceto, 611. Rot. Norm. i. 77.
Rouen to Caen. Rot. Norm. i. 77.
Driencurt. Rot. Norm. i. 77.
Angers. Rot. Norm. i. 18.

A.D. 1180.
ARGENTAN. Rot. Norm. i. 18.
VALOGNES. Rot. Norm. i. 18.
CHERBOURG. Rot. Norm. i. 31.
DIEPPE. i. 68.
Oct. —. ARGENTAN. Rot. Norm. i. 39.
BUR. Rot. Norm. i. 39.
CAEN. Rot. Norm. i. 39.
VALOGNES. Rot. Norm. i. 39.
CHERBOURG. Rot. Norm. i. 39.
TENERCHEBRAI. Rot. Norm. i. 39, 52.
DANFRONT. Rot. Norm. i. 39.
MORTAIN. Rot. Norm. i. 39.
GORRAM. Rot. Norm. i. 39.
FALAISE. Rot. Norm. i. 50, 56.
ANGERS. Rot. Norm. i. 50, 56.
Dec. 25. LE MANS. B. P. i. 269.
ANGERS. R. de Monte, 928.

A.D. 1181.
Jan. —.
Mar. 5. VALASSE. R. de Monte, 926.
Lent. GRANDMONT. Geoff. Vigeois, 326.
April 5. CHINON. B. P. i. 272.
April 27. GUÉ S. REMY. B. P. i. 272.
GISORS. B. P. i. 277.
July 27. CHERBOURG to PORTSMOUTH. B. P. i. 277.
CANTERBURY. R. de Diceto, 612.
NOTTINGHAM. B. P. i. 280.
Sept. 6. EVESHAM. B. P. i. 280.
WINCHESTER. B. P. i. 281.
Dec. 25. WINCHESTER. B. P. i. 284.

A.D. 1182.
Jan. —. WINCHESTER.
Jan. 6. MARLBOROUGH. R. de Dic. 613.
Mar. —. BISHOPS WALTHAM. R. de Dic. 613. Gervase, 1459.
Mar. 3. PORTSMOUTH. R. de Dic. 613. R. de Monte, 931.
Mar. 4. BARFLEUR. B. P. i. 285.
Mar. 28. Easter.
After April 4. SENLIS. R. de Dic. 613.
Into POICTOU. B. P. i. 288.
May 16. Whit-Sunday.
GRANDMONT. Geoff. Vigeois, 330.
S. YRIEZ, in Limousin. G. V. 330.
PIERRE BUFFIERE. G. V. 330.

A.D. 1182.
June 24. GRANDMONT. G. V. 330.
July 1. PERIGUEUX. G. V. 331.
Before July 8. LIMOGES. G. V. 331.
Into NORMANDY. B. P. i. 288.
Dec. 25. CAEN. B. P. i. 291. R. de Monte, 933.

A.D. 1183.
Jan. —. LE MANS. B. P. i. 292.
ANGERS. R. de Diceto, 617. B. P. i. 295.
After Feb. 2. LIMOGES. Geoff. Vigeois, 332.
AIXE. Geoff. Vigeois, 332.
Mar. 1. LIMOGES. Geoff. Vigeois, 334.
April 17. Easter. LIMOGES. Geoff. Vigeois, 336.
June 24. LIMOGES surrendered. Geoff. Vigeois, 337.
July 3. ANGERS. R. de Monte, 933.
EVREUX. Rot. Norm. i. 121.
GISORS. Not. Norm. i. 116.
ROUEN. (Conference with Philip of Flanders.) Rot. Norm. i. 116.
Dec. 6. Between GISORS and TRIE. B. P. i. 306.
Dec. 25. LE MANS. B. P. i. 310. CAEN, R. de Monte, 935.

A.D. 1184.
Jan. —. LE MANS.
NORMANDY. B. P. i. 310.
May —. CHOISI. Conference. B. P. i. 312.
June —. WITSAND. B. P. i. 312.
June 10. DOVER. B. P. i. 312. R. de Dic. 619.
WALTHAM. B. P. i. 317.
July 22. WORCESTER. B. P. i. 314.
Cir. July 25. WINCHESTER. B. P. i. 316. Gerv. 1466.
GLOUCESTER. B. P. i. 317.
Aug. 5. READING. Council. B. P. i. 317. R. de Dic. 619. Gerv. 1467.
Aug. 16. WOODSTOCK. Council, B. P. i. 318.
DOVER. B. P. i. 318.
CANTERBURY. Gerv. 1468.
LONDON. B. P. i. 318.
Oct. 21. WINDSOR. Gerv. 1468.
Oct. 23. WINDSOR. R. de Dic. 619.
Nov. 30. LONDON. B. P. i. 319. Gerv. 1470.
Dec. 2. WESTMINSTER. B. P. i. 320. R. de Dic. 619.
Dec. 3. WESTMINSTER. B. P. i. 320.
Dec. 10. WESTMINSTER. Gerv. 1472.
Dec. 14. CANTERBURY. B. P. i. 321. Gerv. 1473.
Dec. 15. LONDON. Gerv. 1473.

A.D. 1184.
Dec. 16. WESTMINSTER. B. P. i. 321. R. de Dic. 620.
Dec. 25. WINDSOR. B. P. i. 333.
GUILDFORD. B. P. i. 334.

A.D. 1185.
Jan. 1. WINCHESTER. B. P. i. 334.
Feb. 2. WINCHESTER. B. P. i. 334.
NOTTINGHAM. B. P. i. 335.
READING. B. P. i. 335.
Mar. 17. CLERKENWELL. R. de Diceto, 626. B. P. i. 336. Council.
Mar. 31. WINDSOR. B. P. i. 336. R. de Diceto, 626.
April 16. DOVER to WITSAND. B. P. i. 337.
April 21. Easter. ROUEN. R. de Diceto, 626.
VAUDREUIL. R. de Diceto, 626. (Three days.)
Nov. 7. AUMÂLE. R. de Diceto, 629. Conference.
Nov. 9. BELVEIR. R. de Diceto, 629.
Dec. 25. DOMFRONT. B. P. i. 343. R. de Monte, 937.

A.D. 1186.
Jan. —. DOMFRONT.
Mar. 10. GISORS. B. P. i. 343. R. de Diceto, 630.
April 27. BARFLEUR to SOUTHAMPTON. B. P. i. 345. R. de Diceto, 630.
MEREWELL. R. de Diceto, 630.
WINCHESTER. R. de Diceto, 630.
May 25. EYNSHAM. Council for eight days. B. P. i. 345. R. de Diceto, 631.
June 1. WOODSTOCK. Vita S. Hugonis, 102.
CARLISLE. B. P. i. 348.
Sept. 5. WOODSTOCK. B. P. i. 351. (Four days.)
Sept. 9. MARLBOROUGH. B. P. i. 351.
Sept. 14. MARLBOROUGH. Council. B. P. i. 352.
READING. B. P. i. 353.
Nov. 30. AMESBURY. B. P. i. 353.
Dec. 25. GUILDFORD. B. P. ii. 3. Epp. Cantuar. 28.

A.D. 1187.
Jan. 1. WESTMINSTER. B. P. ii. 4.
Feb. 10. CHILHAM. Gerv. 1489.
Feb. 11. CANTERBURY. Gerv. 1490.
Feb. 17. DOVER to WITSAND. B. P. ii. 5. Gerv. 1491.
Feb. 18. HESDIN. R. de Diceto, 634.
Feb. 19. DRIENCOURT. R. de Diceto, 634.
AUMÂLE. B. P. ii. 5.
April 5. GUÉ S. REMY. B. P. ii. 5. R. de Dic. 635.
May 17. Pentecost. B. P. ii. 6.

A.D. 1187.

June 23. Châteauroux. B. P. ii. 6.
Aug. 28. Alençon. Gerv. 1505. Epp. Cantuar. 90.
Angers. B. P. ii. 9.
Montreleis. B. P. ii. 9.
Nov. —. Caen. Gerv. 1510.
Nov. —. Bur. Epp. Cant. 106.
Dec. 25. Caen. B. P. ii. 29.

A.D. 1188.

Jan. —. Caen.
Barfleur. B. P. ii. 29.
Gisors. B. P. ii. 29.
Jan. 21. Gisors. Conference. B. P. ii. 29. R. de Diceto, 636.
Le Mans. Council. B. P. ii. 30.
Jan. 30. Dieppe to Winchelsea. B. P. ii. 32. Gerv. 1520.
Feb. —. Otford. Epp. Cantuar. 162.
Feb. 11. Geddington. B. P. ii. 33. Council. Gerv. 1522.
Feb. 29. Clarendon. Gerv. 1527. Epp. Cantuar. 221.
Mar. 1. Clarendon. Epp. Cantuar. 221.
Cirencester. Gerv. 1527.
April —.
April 24. London. Gerv. 1530, 1532.
July 10, 11. Portsea to Barfleur. B. P. ii. 40. Gerv. 1535.
Alençon. B. P. ii. 40.
Aug. 16. Gisors. R. de Diceto, 639.
Aug. 30. Mantes. B. P. ii. 46.
Aug. 31. Yvry. B. P. ii. 46.
Sept. 1. B. P. ii. 47.
Gisors. Conference. B. P. ii. 47.
Oct. 7. Châtillon. Conference. B. P. ii. 49.
Nov. 18. Bonsmoulins. Conference. R. de Diceto, 641. B. P. ii. 50.
Into Aquitaine. Gerv. 1537.
Dec. 25. Saumur. B. P. ii. 61.

A.D. 1189.

Jan. —. Saumur.
Feb. 1. Le Mans. Epp. Cant. 282.
May 19. Le Mans. Epp. Cant. 292.
May 28. La Ferté Bernard. Conference. B. P. ii. 66. R. de Diceto, 644.
June 12. Le Mans. B. P. ii. 67. R. de Diceto, 644.
Frenelles. Gir. Camb. Inst. Pr. iii. 25
Angers. Gir. Camb. iii. 25.
Savigny (?). Gir. Camb. iii. 25.
Chinon. B. P. ii. 68.

A.D. 1189.	
June 28.	Between TOURS and AZAI. R. de Dic. 645.
June 29.	
June 30.	
July 1.	
July 2.	SAUMUR. B. P. ii. 69.
July 3.	AZAI (?) Epp. Cantuar. 297.
July 4.	COLOMBIERES near VILLANDRI. Rigord.
July 5.	CHINON.
July 6.	CHINON. B. P. ii. 71.

APPENDIX II.

ASSIZE OF CLARENDON.

A.D. 1166.

(MS. Reg. 14, c. 2, fo. 275.)

HÆC EST ASSISA FACTA APUD CLARENDUNE.

HÆC est Assisa, quam dominus rex Henricus consilio archiepiscoporum[1] et episcoporum et abbatum cæterorumque baronum suorum statuit pro pace servanda et justitia tenenda.

Inquest to be made by oath of twelve men of the hundred and four men of the township, before the justices and sheriffs, concerning offenders.

1. [2] Quod per singulos comitatus inquirant per singulos hundredos per duodecim legaliores homines de hundredo, et per quatuor legales homines de qualibet villata, per sacramentum quod illi verum dicent, si [in] hundredo [vel] in villata sua sit aliquis homo qui sit rectatus vel publicatus, quod ipse sit roberator vel murdrator, vel latro, vel aliquis qui fuerit receptor roberatorum vel murdratorum vel latronum, postquam dominus rex fuit rex.[3] Et hæc inquirant justitiæ coram se, et vicecomites coram se.

Persons so arraigned to be brought to the ordeal of water.

2. Et qui invenietur per sacramentum prædictum retatus vel publicatus de prædictis, eat ad juisam

[1] These may be looked upon as the enacting words of the Assize, and are probably formal. The use of the word *archiepiscoporum* does not imply the presence of both the archbishops, for Thomas of Canterbury was in exile at the time. For the date and occasion of the Assize, see above, pp. lx., &c.

[2] With this first article compare the first of the Assize of Northampton, B. P. i. 108. For Anglo-Saxon precedent, see Ll. Ethelred, iii. 3, Thorpe, 125.

[3] Cf. art. 5 of Assize of Northampton, B. P. i. 109, as illustrating the retrospective character of the Act. See also art. 22 below.

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aquæ; et juret quod ipse non fuit roberator vel murdrator vel latro vel receptor eorum postquam dominus rex fuit rex, de valentia quinque solidorum, quod ipse sciat.[1]

Bail may be taken at the request of the lord of the accused.

3. Et si dominus[2] ejus qui captus fuerit, vel dapifer ejus, requisierint eum per plegios, infra tres dies postquam captus fuerit, replegiatur ille donec faciat legem suam.

Sheriffs to apply to the justices for a day of trial; two men of the hundred or township to appear before the justices to record the presentment before the prisoner undergoes the ordeal.

4. Et quando roberatores vel murdratores vel latrones vel receptores eorum capti fuerint per prædictum sacramentum; si justitiæ non fuerint tam cito venturi in illum comitatum ubi capti fuerint, vicecomites mandent propinquiori justitiæ per intelligentem hominem, quod tales homines ceperint; et justitiæ remandabunt vicecomitibus ubi voluerint quod illi ducantur ante eos. Et vicecomes eos ducat ante justitias, et illic ducantur de hundredo et villata ubi capti fuerint, duo legales homines ad recordandum recordationem hundredi et comitatus quare capti fuerint. Et ibi ante justitias faciant legem suam.

Jurisdiction over persons so arraigned belongs to the king only, who also shall have their chattels.

5. [3] Et de illis qui capti fuerint per prædictum sacramentum nullus habebit curiam vel justitiam nec catalla nisi dominus rex in curia sua coram justitiis ejus. Et dominus rex habebit omnia catalla eorum.

Persons otherwise arraigned to be committed to the sheriff to be brought before the justices.

6. De illis qui capti fuerint aliter quam per prædictum sacramentum, sit sicut esse debet. Et vicecomites [qui] eos ceperint eos ducant ante justitias quos ceperint, sine alia summonitione quam inde habebant. Et omnes roberatores et murdratores et latrones et recep-

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[1] According to the assize as recorded in the Assize of Northampton, the culprit, if he failed in the ordeal of water, was to lose one foot, to which the Assize of Northampton added the further loss of the right hand, and expulsion from the country within forty days. B. P. i. 108.

[2] The responsibility of the lord for the people within his "borh" was an old feature of Anglo-Saxon and Danish law. Cf. Ll. Canuti, Thorpe, 161, Athelstan, ii. 7, p. 92, &c.

[3] On this article see Dialogus de Scaccario, ii. 10, pp. 46 and 49.

tores eorum, per hoc sacramentum vel aliter tradantur vicecomitibus, et ipsi recipiant eos statim et sine dilatione.[1] A.D. 1166.

7. Et in singulis comitatibus [in] quibus non fuerint gaiolæ,[2] fiant in burgo vel in aliquo castello domini regis, vel [de] bosco ejus si prope fuerit vel de alio bosco propinquiori, per visum servientium regis, ad hoc, ut vicecomites in illis possint illos qui capti fuerint per ministros et servientes suos custodire. Gaols to be made in the counties in which there are none.

8. [3]Vult etiam dominus rex quod omnes veniant ad comitatum ad hoc sacramentum faciendum, ita quod nullus remaneat pro libertate quam habeat, vel curia vel soca quam habeat, quod non veniat ad sacramentum faciendum. All persons to attend the county court to serve on these juries.

9. Et non sit aliquis in[fra] castellum vel extra castellum, nec etiam in honore de Warenge[ford],[4] qui vetet vicecomites intrare in curiam suam et terram ad videndum francos plegios quod omnes sint sub plegio. The sheriffs to enter all franchises for view of frankpledge.

10. Et ante vicecomites mittantur sub libero plegio: et in comitatu et in burgo nullus habeat homines nec receptet in terra sua vel in domo sua vel in No one is to receive persons in his land, house, or franchise.

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[1] Cf. Assize of Northampton, clause xii., B. P. i. 110.

[2] A confirmation of the date ascribed to this assize in the foregoing preface is afforded by the fact that in the Pipe Rolls for 1166 there occurs a very large increase in the expenses incurred in the building of gaols: new ones were built, or old ones repaired, at Canterbury, Rochester, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Sarum, Malmesbury, Aylesbury, Bedford, and in many other places.

[3] All are to attend the county court to make presentment on oath: this is the foundation of the obligation to serve on juries. We find a fine accounted for in the Pipe Roll of 1166 for a breach of this article: "homines de Tichesoura, debent "v. marcas quia noruerunt jurare "assisam regis." Rutland.

[4] Sir Francis Palgrave understood by this word the honour of Warenne; but it is clearly the honour of Wallingford that is meant. He compares the mention of the honour of Boulogne in Magna Charta. Historically it is of little importance; the honour of Wallingford was, however, in the king's hands, which that of Warenne was not; and the force of the passage seems to be, that no one should avail himself of the privileges of even an escheated jurisdiction to elude the visit of the sheriff.

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who are not in frank-pledge, or for whom he will not answer.

soca sua, quos non in manu capiat quod habebit eos ante justitias si requisiti fuerint, vel sint sub franco plegio.

No lord of a franchise is to hinder the sheriff from arresting persons implicated.

11. Et nulli sint in civitate nec in burgo nec in castello vel extra castellum, nec in honore Warenge-[ford], qui vetent vicecomites intrare in terram suam vel socam ad capiendum illos qui retati sunt vel publicati quod sint roberatores vel murdratores vel latrones vel receptores eorum, vel uthlagati vel retati de foresta regis; sed præceptum est quod juvent eos ad illos capiendum.

Persons found with stolen goods, not having warranty, are not to be admitted to ordeal.

12.[1] Et si aliquis fuerit captus qui fuerit saisitus de roberia vel latrocinio, si ipse sit defamatus et habeat malum testimonium de publicamento, et non habeat warantum, non habeat legem.

Persons accused, but not found with stolen goods, may have ordeal: a confession made before the hundred may not be withdrawn.

13.[1] Et si non fuerit publicatus per saisinam quam habeat, eat ad aquam. Et si aliquis fuerit recognoscens coram legalibus hominibus de hundredo, vel de roberia vel murdredo vel latrocinio vel receptione eorum, et postea negare voluerit, non habeat legem.

Persons presented and cleared at the ordeal are to quit the country or to be outlawed.

14. Vult etiam dominus rex quod illi qui facient suam legem et mundi erunt per legem, si ipsi fuerint de testimonio pessimo et publice et turpiter defamati multorum testimonio et legalium hominum,[2] foris jurent terram regis, ita quod infra octo dies mare transibunt nisi aura eos detinuerit, et cum prima aura quam habebunt mare transibunt, et ultra in Angliam non revertentur nisi per misericordiam regis, et ibi sint uthlagati. Et si redierint capiantur sicut uthlagati.

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[1] With articles 12 and 13 compare the third clause of the Assize of Northampton, B. P. i. 109; Ll. Willelmi I. 24; Thorpe, p. 206; Glanvill, viii. 9.

[2] This article seems to be amended by the first clause of the Assize of Northampton; according to which those presented for murder or felony, even if they succeeded in passing the ordeal, were compelled to leave the country within forty days. B. P. i. 108. It is to be remembered that the culprit was practically found guilty before he went to the ordeal.

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No stranger to be admitted to lodge except in a borough, and then for one night; or he and his entertainer to be arrested.

15. Prohibet etiam dominus rex ne aliquis waivus vel ignotus hospitetur alicubi nisi in burgo, et ibi non nisi una nocte; nisi ipse ibi infirmetur vel equus ejus, ita quod monstrare possit rationabilem causam.

16. Et si [hospitetur] plusquam una nocte, capiatur donec dominus ejus venerit ad plegiandum eum, vel ipse habeat salvos plegios, et ipse similiter capiatur qui eum hospitatus fuerit.[1]

Fugitives for these crimes to be arrested in other counties with or without request of the sheriff.

17. Et si aliquis vicecomes mandaverit alio vicecomiti, quod homines fugerint de vicecomitatu suo in alium comitatum pro roberia vel pro murdro vel latrocinio vel receptione eorum, vel pro uthlagaria vel pro recto forestæ regis, ille capiat illos; et etiam si per se vel per alios sciret quod tales homines fugerint in suum comitatum, capiat eos et custodiat donec de eis habeat salvos plegios.

A register of fugitives to be made, and their chattels forfeited to the king.

18. [2] Et omnes vicecomites faciant inbreviari omnes fugitivos qui fugerint de suis comitatibus, et hoc faciant coram comitatu, et illorum nomina scripta portent ante justitias cum primo venerint ad illos, ut illi per totam Angliam quærantur et eorum catalla capiantur ad opus regis.[3]

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[1] This is an increase of stringency on the ancient law, which relieved the entertainer from all responsibility for his guest until after the third night of his stay. See Ll. Edw. Conf., cap. xxiii., ed. Thorpe (folio edition), 195; Ll. Willelmi senioris, ap. Hoveden, 345, and Thorpe, 209; Ll. Henrici Primi, viii., Thorpe, 223: and compare the Assize of Northampton, B. P. i. 109.

[2] Compare the last clause of the Assize of Northampton, B. P. i. 111.

[3] On the disposition of the chattels of fugitives, see note at p. lxi. above, and cf. Dialogus de Scaccario, pp. 46–48. The *Catalla fugitivorum* begin to be accounted for in small quantities in the 8th year of Henry II., and continue during the 9th, 10th and 11th years; but in the 12th there is a vast accession of accounts on this head, under the title of "Catalla fugitivorum et eorum "qui perierunt in judicio aquæ," which appears in the rolls of the 15th year as "De catallis fugitivo-"rum et suspensorum per assisam "de Clarendon." It seems probable that Henry had made a previous regulation on the subject, perhaps in the 8th year, which was extended in the present Act; for the matter is referred to in the 15th of the Constitutions of Clarendon, and it is certainly an innovation on the old

A.D. 1166. Sheriffs to inquire in the county court about all new comers since the making of this assize.

19. Et dominus rex vult, ex quo vicecomites susceperint summonitiones justitiarum itinerantium, ut ipsi cum comitatibus suis sint ante illos, illi aggregabunt comitatus suos, et inquirent omnes qui de novo venerint in suos comitatus post hanc assisam, et illos mittent per plegios quod sint coram justitias, vel illos custodient donec justitiæ ad illos venerint, et tunc habebunt illos coram justitias.

None of the mean people to be admitted to religious houses without inquiry as to character.

20. Prohibet etiam dominus rex ne monachi vel canonici vel aliqua domus religionis recipiant aliquem de minuto populo in monachum vel canonicum vel fratrem, donec sciatur de quali testimonio ipse fuerit, nisi ipse infirmus fuerit ad mortem.

The Oxford heretics proscribed.

21. Prohibet dominus rex ne aliquis in tota Anglia receptet in terra sua vel soca sua vel domo sub se, aliquem de secta illorum renegatorum qui fuerint excommunicati et signati apud Oxeneford.[1] Et si quis eos receperit, sit in misericordia domini regis, et domus in qua illi fuerint asportetur extra villam et comburatur. Et hoc jurabit unusquisque vicecomes quod hoc tenebit, et hoc jurare faciet omnes ministros suos et dapiferos et barones et omnes milites et franco tenentes de comitatu.

Assize to be kept during the king's pleasure.

22. Et vult dominus rex quod hæc assisa teneatur in regno suo quamdiu ei placuerit.[2]

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laws as stated in Ll. Willelmi I., art. 47, Thorpe, p. 209. The author of the Dialogus explains that the king took the chattels of "ascrip- "titii" who had committed felonies, for fear that if their lords were suffered to have them, they would make it a handle for oppression by false accusation.

[1] On this subject, see above, p. lx.

[2] Cf. Ass. Northampt., B. P. i. 108. "Hæc autem assisa atenebit "a tempore quo assisa facta fuit "apud Clarendonam usque ad hoc "tempus, et amodo quamdiu do- "mino regi placuerit."

APPENDIX III.

INQUEST OF SHERIFFS.

A.D. 1170.

(Gervase ap. Twysden, c. 1410.)

All sheriffs and bailiffs to be summoned to appear before the king on a day to be appointed by the barons errant.

[1] In primis exigent barones errantes vadium et plegium ab omnibus vicecomitibus qui fuerunt vicecomites postquam rex transfretavit in Normanniam, et ab omnibus qui post terminum illum fuerunt bailivi et ministri illorum, quamcunque bailiam de illis habuerunt, et ab omnibus illis qui post terminum illum hundredos baronum quos ipsi habent in comitatibus, sive illos habuerunt ad firmam sive in custodia, quod erunt coram domino rege die quem ipsi eis constituent, ad rectum faciendum et addretiandum ei et hominibus suis quod addretiare debuerint. Et si vicecomites ante illos venire non possint, mittant loco suo qui pro eis respondeant, et illi dent vadium et plegios sufficientes pro vicecomitibus, et ipsi ipsis, quod facient coram domino rege hoc quod vicecomites facere deberent ad diem constitutum. Postea capient sacramentum ab

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[1] These are the directions given to the commissioners for inquiring into the conduct of the sheriffs in the year 1170. See above, pref., pp. lxviii., &c. The *barones errantes* for Kent, Surrey, Middlesex, Berks, Oxfordshire, Bucks, and Bedfordshire, were the abbots of S. Augustine's and Chertsey, the earl of Clare, William of Avranches, Manasser of Dammartin, Gerold FitzRalph, Gilbert de Pinkeni, William FitzHelton, William FitzNeal, William FitzMartin, Ralph of the Hospital, Ralph de Dene. Gerv. 1410. In Warwickshire and Leicestershire, Walter de Insula and Eustace FitzStephen acted. Rot. Pip. Ann. 19 Hen. II., Madox, 96.

A.D. 1170. Oath to be taken by all freemen before the barons errant as to the following heads:

omnibus baronibus, militibus et liberis hominibus de comitatu, et cæteris hominibus, et ab omnibus civibus et burgensibus, quod verum dicent[1] de hoc quod ab eis inquiretur ex parte domini regis, et quod non celabunt veritatem neque pro alicujus amore nec odio, nec prece, nec pretio, nec timore, nec pro aliqua promissione, nec pro ulla re:—

I. The receipts of the sheriffs made with or without judgment of the county court.

I. In primis inquiratur de vicecomitibus et bailivis eorum quid vel quantum acceperint de singulis hundredis et singulis villatis et singulis hominibus, postquam rex novissime transfretavit in Normanniam, unde terra vel homines gravati sunt; et quid acceperint per judicium comitatus vel hundredi, et quid sine judicio; et quod inquisierint captum esse per judicium scribatur separatim, et quod sine judicio similiter separatim scribatur. Et de omnibus prisis inquirant causam et testimonium.

II. Purchases of land by the sheriffs.

II. Similiter inquiratur quot et quas terras vicecomites vel bailivi eorum emerint vel invadiaverint.

III. Receipts of the lords of franchises with or without judgment of court.

III. Similiter inquiratur de archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, comitibus, baronibus, vavasoribus, militibus, civibus, burgensibus et eorum senescallis, præpositis et ministris, quid vel quantum acceperint per terras suas post terminum supradictum, de singulis hundredis suis vel villatis et de singulis hominibus suis per judicium vel sine judicio; et omnes prisas et causas et occasiones earum scribant separatim.

IV. Receipts of the king's bailiffs for vacant churches and escheats.

IV. Similiter inquiratur de omnibus illis qui post terminum illum habuerint aliquis bailias de rege in custodia, sive de archiepiscopatu, sive de episcopatu, sive de abbatia, vel de baronia, sive de honore aliquo, vel aliqua eschaeta, quid et quantum in bailia illa adquisierint.

[1] William Basset seems to have been fined by a jury, or to have paid a fine to escape the verdict of a jury. "Willelmus Basset debet "c. marcas pro fine quem fecit cum "rege de jurata facta super eum, "de inquisitione vicecomitum Angliæ." Madox, 97.

A.D. 1170.

V. Similiter inquiratur de bailivis regis qui per terram suam erraverunt pro negotiis regis faciendis, quid eis datum sit.

V. The receipts of the king's travelling bailiffs.

VI. Et de catallis fugitivorum pro assisa de Clarendune,[1] et de catallis eorum qui per assisam illam perierunt, inquiratur quid actum sit, et quid inde exierit de singulis hundredis et singulis villatis et singulis hominibus. Et inquiratur an aliquis in assisa illa injuste rectatus fuerit pro præmio vel promissione, vel odio, vel aliquo modo injusto, et an aliquis de rectatis relaxatus fuerit vel reversus pro præmio, vel promissione, vel amore, et quis inde præmium acceperit.

VI. Receipts from fugitives and felons under the assize of Clarendon, and manner of administration of that assize.

VII. Et inquiratur de auxilio ad maritandam filiam regis,[2] quid inde exierit de singulis hundredis, et de singulis villatis et de singulis hominibus, sive in redditis, sive in pardonis, et cui illud traditum et liberatum fuerit.

VII. Receipts on account of the aid pur fille marier.

VIII. Et inquiratur quid et quantum acceperint forestarii et bailivi et ministri eorum post terminum supradictum in bailiis suis, quocunque modo illud acceperint vel quacunque occasione; et si quid pardonaverint de rectis domini regis pro præmio vel promissione, vel amicitia alicujus, et de forisfactis forestarum, et de iis qui in forestis suis forisfecerunt de cervis et bissis et aliis bestiis salvagiis; et si forestarii vel bailivi eorum aliquem acceperint vel attacaverint per vadium, et per plegium, vel rectaverint, et postea sine justitia per se relaxaverint. Et qui hæc fecerint inquirantur et inbrevientur.

VIII. Receipts of the foresters and their servants; and manner of administration of the forest law.

IX. Et omnes qui rectati fuerint de quocunque recto ponantur per vadium et per plegium quod sint coram domino rege die quem eis ponent, et quod rectum facient, et addretiabunt ei et hominibus suis quod ad-

IX. All the persons accused to give bail for their appearance, and for

[1] See above, pp. lx., lxi., and Madox, Hist. Exch., 236.

[2] The aid levied for the marriage of Matilda with Henry the Lion, 14 Hen. II., A.D. 1168.

A.D. 1170. making amends. dretiare debuerint.[1] Et quibus plegii defuerint custodiantur.

X. Inquiry to be made whether the sheriffs have smothered any complaints since the king's return.

X. Et inquiratur si vicecomites, vel quicunque bailivi eorum, vel domini villarum vel bailivi eorum, aliquid reddiderint de iis quæ acceperant, vel si pacem aliquam cum hominibus fecerint postquam audierunt adventum domini regis pro disturbare ne inde ante regem vel justitias querimonia veniret.

XI. Whether any person has been unduly favoured.

XI. Et de merciatis inquiratur, si aliquis relaxus fuerit pro præmio vel amore de hoc quod primo fuit amerciatus. Et per quem hoc factum fuerit.

XII. What have been the receipts of archdeacons and deans.

XII. Et similiter inquiratur per omnes episcopatus quid et quantum et qua de causa archidiaconi vel decani injuste et sine judicio ceperint, et hoc totum scribatur.

XIII. Who have not done homage to the king.

XIII. Et inquiratur qui debent regi hominium, et nondum fecerunt, neque illi neque filio suo, et inbrevientur.

[1] These are the very words used in our Chronicle with reference to this inquest, i. 6.

APPENDIX IV.

FOREST ASSIZE OF HENRY II.

(From MS. Reg. 14, c. 2, fo. 274, &c.)

Assisa Regni de Forestis Angliæ.

Hæc sunt videnda in regardis forestæ.[1]

Matters to be inquired in the reguard of the forest. I. Old essarts.

Videnda sunt essarta antiquitus facta et hoc anno inbladata, quantum ibi sit per numerum acrarum, et quis ea inbladaverit, et quis tenet, et in cujus feodo sint, et quo blado inbladata, et si non sunt inbladata quo blado anno proximo fuerint inbladiata: et sunt scribenda per se.

De eodem.

II. Purprestures.

Similiter videndæ sunt purpresturæ ubicunque fuerint in foresta domini regis, sive in bosco, sive in plano, sive in landa, sive in brueria, sive in marisco, et quocunque modo occupatæ fuerint, vel domibus, vel molendinis, vel stangnis, vel vivariis, vel fossatis, vel in glebis, vel in frussuris vel aliquo alio modo; et quis eas fecerit et quis eas tenet, et in cujus feodo factæ sint: et scribantur per se.

De eodem.

III. Waste in forests of demesne.

Similiter videnda sunt vasta forestæ, scilicet de dominicis boscis domini regis, unumquemque ceptum[2] de quercu vel fago videndum et inbreviandum, qui post ultimum regardum coppati[3] fuerint. Et si bosci per

[1] Compare Hoveden, 446 a, 41, &c.

[2] *ceptum*] ceppus, MS. Vesp. F. iv.

[3] *coppati*] cōpata, MS.

III. Waste in forests of demesne. esbrancaturam sint deteriorati, quid inde ad vastum debeat atornari, vel si de subbosco vasti sint: et id scribatur per se.

De eodem.

IV. Waste in other wood. De aliis autem boscis videantur vasta sicut antiquitus videri solent, et nomina villarum et dominorum quibus appendent, et scribantur per se.

De eodem.

V. Closes and fenced ground of the king. Similiter videndæ sunt haiæ et defensæ domini regis, de quibus nemo communicat, et in quæ nulla animalia intrare debent, et tam de bosco quam de pastura, et herbergagio sint in eodem statu in quo esse debent: et scribantur per se.

De eodem.

VI. Mines. Similiter videndum est de mineriis, si sint in foresta, quis eas tenet, et quæ servitia inde facit, et facere debet: et scribantur per se.

De eodem.

VII. Eyries. Similiter videndum est de aeriis accipitrum et sperua-riorum, si in foresta fuerint; quis eas habet et habere debet; an domini regis an alterius.

De eodem.

VIII. New essarts. Similiter videnda sunt essarta post ultimum regardum facta, scilicet quantum ibi sit per numerum acrarum, et quis in ea fecerit, et quis tenet, et in cujus feodo sint, et si inbladiata sint, et quo blado sint inbladiata: et scribantur per se.

De eodem.

IX. Forges. Similiter videndæ sunt forgiæ si sunt ubi esse debeant, et ubi fuerint tempore Henrici regis et scribantur per se.

[INCIPIT ASSISA DOMINI HENRICI REGIS DE FORESTA.] A.D. 1184.

[Hæc est assisa domini Henrici regis filii Matildis, in Anglia, de foresta et venatione sua per consilium et assensum archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, et baronum, comitum et nobilium Angliæ apud Wudestoke.]

Hæc sunt præcepta ejus de forestis suis Angliæ.[1]

MS. A. Art. 1. I. Primum defendit quod nullus ei forisfaciat de venatione sua nec de forestis suis in ulla re: et non vult quod confident in hoc quod habuerit misericordiam de illis propter eorum catalla huc usque qui ei forisfecerunt de venatione sua, et de forestis suis. Nam si quis ei amodo forisfecerit et inde convictus fuerit, plenariam vult de illo habere justitiam qualis fuit facta tempore regis Henrici avi sui.[2] I. The king will no longer have mercy on transgressors of the forest law.

MS. A. Art. 2. II. Item defendit quod nullus habeat arcus, nec sagittas, nec canes, nec leporarios in forestis suis nisi habeat warantum regem vel aliquem alium qui ei warantizare poterit. II. None to have bows, arrows, or dogs in forests without warrant.

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[1] With this Assize compare the Forest dooms of Canute, Thorpe, Anglo-Saxon Laws, folio edition, pp. 183 and 184; the Forest Assize of Henry II., Benedict Peterb., i. 323, and that of Richard I. in Hoveden, ed. Savile, 445 and 446. I have not succeeded in finding a perfect copy of this assize, either in print or in any ancient MS. The text is from the Hoveden MS. With this I have collated two other copies of the Elizabethan period, found in MS. Cotton. Vesp. F. iv. at fo. 10 (noted A), and fo. 17 (noted B), which do not agree either in the order or number of the articles with each other, or with the text, or with the copy of the assize given above (vol. i. 323), or with the copy used by Manwood, which I have not yet identified. At the end of the copy in the text I have appended in brackets the additional articles as discoverable in Manwood, and in the two MS. versions. I have not noted minor unimportant variations.

[2] "Tempore regis Henrici filii "regis Willelmi, avi sui." MS. Vesp. F. iv. "Ut amittat oculos et "testiculos." Assize of Henry II., B. P. i. 323, and of Richard I., Hoveden, 445.

A.D. 1184.

III. No one to sell or give wood to the waste of the forest: estovers only to be taken.

III. [1] Item defendit quod nullus donet vel vendat aliquid ad destructionem vel vastum bosci sui, qui sunt infra forestam regis Henrici: concedit bene quod capiant de boscis eorum quod necesse eis fuerit [2] sine vasto, et hæc per visum forestarii regis.

Manwood, Art. II. 1. MS. A. Art. 3. MS. B. Art. 1.

IV. Owners of woods within the forests to have their own foresters under pledge.

IV. [3] Item præcepit quod omnes illi qui habent boscos infra metas forestæ regis ponant idoneos [4] forestarios in boscis eorum; de quibus forestariis ipsi quorum bosci fuerint sint plegii, vel tales inveniant plegios idoneos qui emendare poterunt si forestarii in aliquo forisfecerint, quod domino regi pertineat.[5]

MS. A. Art. 4. MS. B. Art. 2.

V. The royal foresters to overlook the foresters of the knights.

V. Item præcepit dominus rex quod forestarii sui capiant curam super forestam [6] militum et aliorum qui habent boscos infra metas forestæ regis, quod bosci non destruantur; nam si super hoc fuerint destructi bosci, sciant bene illi quorum bosci fuerint destructi, quod de ipsismet vel de eorum terris [7] capietur emendatio, et non de alio.

MS. A. Art. 5. MS. B. Art. 3.

VI. All foresters to swear to keep this assize.

VI. Item dominus rex præcepit quod omnes forestarii sui jurent quod secundum posse suum tenebunt assisam ejus qualem eam fecit de forestis suis, et quod non vexabunt milites neque alios probos homines de hoc quod dominus rex concedit illis de boscis eorum.

MS. A. Art. 6. MS. B. Art. 4.

VII. Twelve

VII. [8] Item rex præcepit quod in quolibet comitatu

MS. A. Art. 7.

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[1] See Manwood, Forest Law, viii. 4. He quotes this as the first article of the Assize of Woodstock.

[2] *quod..fuerit*] estoveria, MS. A.

[3] This article is omitted in the assize as given in our Chronicle, i. 323, but it is clearly necessary to the sense of the following clause as it stands in that version.

[4] *idoneos*] et legales, add Vesp.

[5] *pertineat*] MS. Vesp. fo. 10 adds, "et illi qui extra metas regardi "boscos habeant in quibus venatio domini regis pacem habet, "nullum forestarium habeant, nisi "assisam domini regis juraverint "et pacem venationis suæ, et custodem aliquem ad boscum ejus "custodiendum. This is the 14th article in Vesp. fo. 17.

[6] *forestam*] forestariis, B. P. i. 323, and Hoveden, 446.

[7] *terris*] catallis, Vesp. fo. 10.

[8] The Forest Assize given in our Chronicle, i. 323, does not contain the remaining articles as given here. It is possible then that this article is the last (as its purport would show) of some more ancient assize, to which art. 8–11 were added before, and art. 12 at, the Woodstock Assize, in 1184.

MS. B. Art. 5. Manwood, Art. 8. A.D. 1184. Knights to be appointed in every county to guard vert and venison, and four to agist the royal woods and take pannage. No one to agist before the king has agisted.

in quo habet venationem ponantur[1] [xii] milites ad custodiendum venationem suam et viridem cum foresta;[2] et quatuor milites ponantur ad agistandum boscos suos et ad recipiendum panagium suum et custodiendum; et defendit rex quod nullus agistet boscos suos infra metas forestæ antequam bosci regis agistentur;[3] et incipit agistamentum domini regis quindecim dies ante festum Sancti Michaelis, et durat quindecim dies post festum Sancti Michaelis.

MS. A. Art. 7. MS. B. Art. 6. Manwood, Art. 4.

MS. A. Art. 8. MS. B. Art. 7. VIII. Negligent foresters to be punished.

VIII. Et rex præcepit quod si forestarius ejus habeat boscos dominicos domini regis in custodia sua, et illi bosci fuerint destructi, et non possit nec sciat justam causam monstrare quare bosci destruantur, nihil aliud capiatur a forestario, nisi proprium corpus.

MS. A. Art. 9. MS. B. Art. 8. IX. Clerks to have no immunities.

IX. Item rex defendit quod nullus clericus ei forisfaciat de venatione sua nec de forestis suis; præcepit bene forestariis suis quod si invenerint eos forisfacientes, non dubitent in eos manum ponere, ad eos retinendum et attachiandum, et ipse eos bene warantizabit.

MS. A. Art. 14. MS. B. Art. 9. X. Essarts to be inspected.

X. Item rex præcepit quod sua essarta videantur[4] nova et vetera, et purpresturæ suæ et vasta forestæ, et quod inbreviantur quælibet per se.[5]

MS. A. Art. 15. MS. B. Art. 10. XI. All persons bound to attend the county court are to attend the pleas of the forest as well.

XI. Item rex præcepit quod comites et barones et milites[6] veniant ad summonitionem magistri forestarii sui sicut se defendi volunt ne incidant in misericordiam domini regis ad placitandum placita domini regis, de forestis suis, et alia negotia sua facienda in comitatu.[7]

[1] *ponantur*] duodecim, ins. Hoveden, 446.

[2] *et . . . foresta*] et viridarii cum forestariis, MS. A.

[3] *et defendit . . agistentur*] Manwood makes this art. 4 of his Assize of Woodstock: cap. xii. s. 4.

[4] "In quolibet tertio anno," add, Hoveden, 446, and Vesp. fo. 17.

[5] "Secundum capitulum regardi." Vesp. fo. 10.

[6] "Archiepiscopi, episcopi, &c.," B. "et libere tenentes et omnes "homines," A.

[7] The Assize of Richard contains some additions to these articles in this place; giving also here the points to be inquired in the reguard of the forest, as above; and ending with the clause added at Woodstock, as in the text.

A.D. 1184. XII. Punishment may be avoided by giving security until the third offence.

XII. Apud Wdestoke rex præcepit quicunque forisfecerit de foresta sua semel, de ipso salvi plegii capiantur; et si iterum forisfecerit similiter; si autem tertio forisfecerit, pro tertio forisfacto nulli alii plegii capiantur de illo nec aliquid aliud nisi proprium corpus foris facientis. MS. A. Art. 12. MS. B. Art. 12.

XIII. All persons to swear to keep the peace of the forest.

[XIII. Item præcipit quod omnis homo habens ætatem xii. annorum manens infra pacem venationis juret ejus pacem et clerici laicum feodum tenentes. MS. A. Art. 10. MS. B. Art 11. Manwood, Art. 15.

XIV. Dogs to be mutilated.

XIV. Item præcipit quod expeditatio mastivorum fiat ubicunque feræ suæ pacem habent et habere consueverunt. MS. A. Art 11. Manwood, Art. 6.

XV. Tanners forbidden.

XV. Item præcipit quod nullus tannator vel dealbator coriorum maneat in forestis suis extra burgum. MS. A. Art. 13. MS. B. Art. 13.

XVI. Hunting by night forbidden.

XVI. Item rex præcipit quod nullus de cætero chaceat ullo modo ad capiendum feras per noctem infra forestam neque extra, ubicunque feræ suæ frequentant vel pacem habent aut habere consueverunt, sub pœna imprisonamenti unius anni, et faciendo finem et redemptionem ad voluntatem suam, et quod nullus sub eadem pœna faciat aliquam forstallationem feris suis vivam vel mortuam inter forestam suam et boscos vel alia loca per ipsum vel progenitores suos deafforestatos.] MS. B. Art 15. Manwood, Art. 13.

GESTA REGIS
HENRICI SECUNDI.

GESTA REGIS
HENRICI SECUNDI.

Hoveden, 361. b. 41, shorter.

A.D. 1186. Henry II. keeps the Christmas of 1186–7 at Guildford.

ANNO M°C°LXXX°VII°., qui est annus tricesimus tertius regni Henrici regis secundi, idem rex Henricus, filius Matildis imperatricis, tenuit sollemne festum die Nativitatis Dominicæ, quæ quinta feria evenit, in Anglia apud Gedefordam.[1]

Cui interfuit Johannes filius ejus, et Johannes Cumyn archiepiscopus Divelinensis, Gaufridus Eliensis episcopus, David frater regis Scotiæ comes de Huntedona, Robertus comes de Leycestria, Willelmus comes de Arundel, Rogerus Bigot comes. In illo vero festo prædicti comites de Leicestria et de Harundel, et Rogerus Bigot servierunt ad mensam regis de servitio quod ad illos pertinebat in coronationibus et sollemnibus festis regum Angliæ.

The earls of Leicester, Arundel, and Norfolk perform their customary services.

fo. 120 r°.

Dec. 26. The king hears of the arrival of cardinal Octavian and Hugh of Nunant as legates.

Ibi autem in crastino Nativitatis Domini pervenit ad aures regis quod duo legati, missi a latere Urbani summi pontificis, applicuerunt in Angliam apud Doveram; quorum unus dicebatur Octovianus,[2] diaconus cardinalis, et alter Hugo de Nunant, clericus et familiaris domini regis, quem ipse ad papam miserat, ut secum unum vel duos cardinales duceret, quibus do-

[1] *Gedefordam*] Geldeford, Hoveden.

[2] Octavian, cardinal deacon of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, who became bishop of Ostia in 1189.

A.D. 1187. Jan. 1. The legates are received in procession in Westminster abbey.

minus papa commisisset legationem in Hiberniam, ad coronandum Johannem filium suum in regem Hiberniæ. Quo audito rumore, rex misit obviam eis Johannem Divelinensem archiepiscopum, et Radulfum Herefordensem archidiaconum: et dominus rex venit Lundonias obviam eis; et recepit eos in die Circumcisionis Domini, cum venerabili processione, apud Westmonasterium in ecclesia Sancti Petri. Ipsi vero, auctoritate summi pontificis, cruces ante se portari fecerunt ubicunque ambulabant; et semper incedebant mitrati, et rubeis indumentis induti; et dicebant quod missi erant a latere domini papæ ad audiendas et terminandas causas ecclesiasticas, si quæ referendæ essent ad summum pontificem. Sed Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, apostolicæ sedis legatus, et suffraganei sui, considerantes quod de adventu supradictorum legatorum nihil nisi quod in ignominiam et in detrimentum regni evenire posset, si ipsi in regno moram facerent, consuluerunt domino regi quod ipse illos secum duceret in Normanniam, ad pacem et concordiam inter ipsum et Philippum regem Franciæ faciendam; quorum consiliis rex adquievit. Qui cum audisset per internuncios suos quod pax nullatenus reformari posset inter eos, nisi rex transfretasset, statim præmisit Johannem filium suum in Normanniam, et ipse cum prædictis legatis, et cum copiosa militum et servientium multitudine, venit usque Doveram, ubi naves suæ paratæ erant ad transfretandum: et post paucos dies mare intravit. Et cum jam fere transfretasset, et apud Witsant ante portum pervenisset, habuit sibi ventum obvium ita contrarium, quod terram ibi capere non potuit, sed eodem die in crepusculo reversus est ad Doveram. Et facta ibi mora trium dierum, die Martis proxima post Caput Jejunii, scilicet decimo tertio kalendas Martii, iterum mare intravit, et applicuit apud Witsant, ubi habuit sibi obvios Philippum comitem Flandriæ, comitem Teobaldum, et comitem de

Archbishop Baldwin persuades the king to conduct the legates back into Normandy.

He is detained several days at Dover,

but crosses at last, Feb. 17, to Witsand.

A.D. 1187. Feb. 17.

He proceeds into Normandy, and meets his followers at Aumale.

Gynes,[1] et alios multos de comitibus et baronibus de regno Franciæ, qui eum et suos cum gaudio recipientes, salvum conductum usque in Normanniam fecerunt. Cum vero dominus rex venisset ad Aubemarliam, habuit ibi sibi obvium Walterum archiepiscopum Rotomagensem, et Ricardum ducem Aquitanniæ, et Johannem fratrem ejus et Willelmum de Mandevil comitem de Aubemarle, et multos alios de familiaribus suis, tam de episcopis quam comitibus et baronibus suis. Sed interim magna pars de familia regis, volens transfretare in Normanniam, inter Schorham et Depe, submersa est in mari cum magna parte thesauri Aaronis Judæi Lincolniensis defuncti.

Great part of his retinue lost at sea.

In crastino vero postquam rex transfretaverat, Gillebertus[2] Lundoniensis obiit.

Gilbert Foliot dies, Feb. 18.

Interim appropinquante festo Annunciationis Dominicæ, Philippus rex Francorum et Henricus rex Angliæ inter se ceperunt colloquium, statuentes diem colloquii in octavis Paschæ, apud Nonencurt ad vadum Sancti Remigii. Quo cum venissent, nec inter eos, cum inde diu tractassent, convenire potuisset, propter intolerabiles exigentias quas rex Franciæ sibi fieri postulavit, sine spe pacis et concordiæ recesserunt.

Towards Lady-day the king of France proposes a conference for April 5, at Gué S. Remy, which proves useless.

fo. 120 v°.

Hoveden, 361. b. 49.

Interim per præceptum regis Angliæ facta est apud Doveram turris fortissima.

Strong tower built at Dover.

De discordia inter regem Franciæ, et Henricum regem Angliæ.

His ita gestis, et ita se habentibus inter Philippum regem Franciæ et Henricum regem Angliæ, Fredericus Romanorum imperator misit exercitum suum cum rege

During the quarrel between Henry and Philip.

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[1] *Gynes*] Baldwin II., count of Guisnes, 1169–1206.

[2] Foliot, bishop of London 1163–1187.

A.D. 1187. the emperor sends an army into Lombardy.

filio[1] suo in Lombardia; in quo prædictus rex Francorum magnam fiduciam ei auxiliandi contra regem Angliæ habebat.

May 17. Henry divides his army into four parts.

Adveniente igitur Pentecosten, Henricus rex Angliæ divisit exercitum suum in quatuor partes. Et unam partem tradidit Ricardo filio suo duci Aquitanniæ; alteram Johanni filio suo; tertiam Willelmo de Mandevil comiti de Aubemarle; et quartam partem Gaufrido filio suo et cancellario, quondam Lincolniensis ecclesiæ electo. Et illis thesauros suos distribuit, et assignavit eis provincias et castella sua custodienda et defendenda contra Philippum regem Franciæ.

Philip besieges Richard and John in Châteauroux.

Hoveden, 361. b. 52, much shorter.

Philippus vero rex Franciæ, magno congregato exercitu, profectus est in Berriam, et obsedit Castellum Radulfi, et comitem Ricardum et Johannem fratrem suum, filios regis Angliæ, intus obsedit. Et cum diu ibi moram fecisset, et castellum capere non potuisset; recessit inde et disposuit acies suas ad bellum campestre. Nam rex Angliæ cum exercitu suo magno et valido illuc advenit ad auxiliandum filiis suis. Sed rex Franciæ, audito ejus adventu, ab obsidione recessit; et, ut supradictum est, paravit se et suos ad bellum campestre. Similiter rex Angliæ et sui præparabant se ad bellum. Et cum dies opportunus advenisset, præfati reges in ipsa vigilia Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, in loco competenti et præelecto, acies suas hinc inde armatas ad pugnam præordinaverunt, et in singulis locis prout expedire viderant statuerunt. Et cum omnia parata essent ad pugnam, auxiliante Dei misericordia, et Urbani summi pontificis mandato coercente, qui in mandatis dederat quod nisi pax inter illos citius fieret, anathemati subjacerent, archiepiscopi etiam et episcopi, abbates, comites et barones utriusque regni, non permittentes illos congredi, dederunt illis in consilio quod

He raises the siege, and prepares for a pitched battle on June 23.

The clergy and nobles intervene.

[1] Henry, afterwards the emperor Henry VI.

A.D. 1187. June 23.

pax inter illos [esset] vel treugæ longiores. Et ad mandatum summi pontificis et consilium fidelium suorum ceperunt inter se tregas biennium; ita quod rex Franciæ haberet Ysoudun et Ursum de Freteval, usque ad terminum treugarum. Et sic uterque illorum et exercitus sui arma deponentes, ad propria remearunt, laudantes Deum Qui pacem præstitit illis.

Hoveden, 362. a. 3.

And a truce for two years is made.

Facta itaque pace, Ricardus dux Aquitanniæ, filius regis Angliæ, moram fecit cum Philippo rege Franciæ, quem ipse in tantum honoravit per longum tempus, quod singulis diebus in una mensa ad unum catinum manducabant, et in noctibus non separabat eos lectus. Et dilexit eum rex Franciæ quasi animam suam; et in tantum se mutuo diligebant, quod propter vehementem dilectionem quæ inter illos erat, dominus rex Angliæ nimio stupore arreptus admirabatur quid hoc esset. Et præcavens sibi in futurum, voluntatem transfretandi in Angliam, quam in animo præconceperat, distulit donec sciret quid tam repentinus amor machinaretur.

Hoveden, 362. a. 6, shorter.

Richard visits Philip.

fo. 121 r°.

Henry is alarmed at their intimacy.

Eodem anno comes de Neverz,[1] cui rex Angliæ dederat in uxorem illam quæ fuit uxor Odonis de Ysodun cum custodia hæredis, reddidit regi Franciæ Ysodun, et adhæsit ei. Similiter fecit Ursus de Freteval, qui erat homo ligius regis Angliæ; reddidit se regi Franciæ.

The count of Nevers and Ursus of Freteval desert Henry.

Willelmus rex Scotiæ.

Interim Willelmus rex Scotiæ, magno congregato exercitu, profectus est Moraviam, ad debellandum quendam

Hoveden, 362. a. 23, very briefly.

William the Lion marches

[1] This is Robert II., count of Dreux, cousin of king Philip, and husband of Maud, countess of Nevers, the widow first of Eudes of Yssoudun, secondly, of Guy of Nevers, thirdly, of Peter of Flanders. Her daughter Agnes, the wife of Peter of Courtenay, was the real countess. See vol. i., p. 124.

A.D. 1167. into Moray against (Donald) Mac William.

hostem suum qui nominabatur Mach Willam: qui etiam dicebat se regia stirpe genitum, et de jure parentum suorum, ut asserebat, regnum Scotiæ calumniabatur, et multa et incommoda faciebat sæpe Willelmo regi Scotiæ, per consensum et consilium comitum et baronum regni Scotiæ. Considerans itaque præfatus Willelmus rex quod oporteret eum regnum Scotiæ amittere, vel prædictum Mach Willam interficere, vel etiam a finibus regni sui expellere, in Moraviam profectus, constituit super exercitum suum tribunos et centuriones; dixitque ad populum, "Egrediar et ego vobiscum;" et 2 Sam. xviii. 2, 3, 4.
respondit populus, "Non exibis, melius est enim ut sis "nobis in urbe præsidium;" ad quos rex ait, "Quod "vobis videtur rectum, hoc faciam." Et remansit rex in castello quod dicitur Ylvernis; et misit comites et barones suos cum Scottis et Galwensibus ad debellandum prædictum hostem suum.

He stays at Inverness, and sends his barons against Mac William.

Cumque profecti essent, orta est inter principes seditio: quidam enim illorum regem diligebant minime, quidam vero diligebant. Et hi procedere volebant, sed cæteri non permiserunt. Cumque contendissent, placuit eis quod principes exercitus remanerent, et præmitterent exploratores ut cibum caperent. Elegerunt ergo juvenes bellicosos fere tria millia, quos miserunt ad quærendum præfatum regis inimicum. Inter quos familia Rolandi filii Uctredi erat; ad cujus nutum omnium pendebat sententia. Cum vero appropinquassent exercitum præfati Willelmi, insultum fecerunt in illos, et interfecerunt ipsum Willelmum et multos de exercitu suo; et reliquam partem fugere compulerunt, et eorum spolia inter se diviserunt, et caput prædicti Willelmi abscisum detulerunt secum, et præsentaverunt illud regi Scotiæ. Et sic prostrato illo, pax magna facta est in regno Scotiæ. Et propter mala quæ fecerat, neque luctus, neque clamor, sed nec ullus dolor de morte ejus factus est. Nec mirum! "Laus namque impiorum brevis est, et gau- Job xx. 5.

A detachment under Ronald of Galloway falls on the army of Mac William and kills him.

Job xx. 6, 7. "dium hypocritæ ad instar puncti: si ascenderit "usque ad cœlum superbia ejus, et caput ejus nubes "tetigerit, quasi sterquilinium in fine perdetur." A.D. 1187.

Hoveden, 362. a. 25. Interim uxor Philippi regis Franciæ peperit filium suum primogenitum, tertio nonas Septembris, die Jovis, et vocatum est nomen ejus Lodowicus. Birth of Lewis of France, Sept. 3. fo. 121 vo.

Hoveden, 362. a. 11, much shorter. Rex vero Angliæ frequenter misit nuncios suos ad revocandum Ricardum filium suum, promisitque consensurum omnibus quæ juste peterentur ab eo. His igitur sermonibus prædictus Ricardus respondit se pariturum. Et simulans se pacifice velle redire ad patrem suum, transitum fecit per Chinonem, ubi thesauri patris sui reconditi fuerant. Et invito Stephano Tirconensi,[1] qui illos custodivit, omnes thesauros patris sui, quos ibi repererat, asportavit, et in Pictaviam profectus, munivit castella sua, et ad patrem suum venire noluit. Tamen rex pater suus ad eum nuncios suos frequenter mittere non cessabat, donec eum adducerent. Et cum ad eum venisset, in omnibus adquievit patri suo; et pœnituit eum se consensisse pravorum consiliis, qui nitebantur seminare discordiam inter ipsum et patrem suum. Sed Dei providentia hoc factum fuisse creditur ad patris commodum, ne deciperetur simulata dilectione, nec festinaret eum promovere ad regni fastigia, sicut et alium fecerat, qui eum, ut supra diximus, injustis vexationibus ultra modum inquietavit. Reverso itaque filio ad patrem suum, ambo venerunt Andegavim, ubi filius patri suo obediens homo suus devenit, et in conspectu multorum fidelitatem ei juravit contra omnes homines, tactis sacrosanctis evangeliis. Juravit etiam quod a consilio suo non recederet. Quo facto, rex in Britanniam profectus est, et castellum quod vocatur Mons Relaxus, quod Hervicus de Leuns ceperat post mortem Gaufridi comitis, obsedit rex et cepit. Richard pretending to submit to his father, seizes on the treasure at Chinon, and flies into Poictou. Henry persuades him to submit. He does homage to his father at Angers. Henry retakes Montreleis.

[1] Stephen of Turnham, afterwards seneschal of Anjou (?).

A.D. 1187.

De Saladino et exercitu ejus.

Saladin invades Palestine.

Hoveden, 362. a. 27.

Eodem anno Saladinus, cum immensa Turcorum suorum multitudine, ex occasione dissensionis quæ fuit inter regem Jerusalem et comitem de Tripes, venit in terram Jerusalem. Contra quem venerunt fratres Templi et Hospitalares cum copiosa plebis multitudine cum eo pugnaturi. Et facta est congressio inter eos; sed exercitus paganorum prævaluit, et Christiani in fugam conversi. Ex quibus, peccatis nostris exigentibus, multi et multi occisi sunt die illo, scilicet prima die Maii, sexaginta fratres Templi, et summus Magister Hospitalaris[1] domus cum fratribus domus suæ interfecti sunt. Saladinus igitur potitus victoria, castella, civitates et munitiones Christianorum cepit. Christiani vero de prælio illo evadentes Jerosolimam venerunt, et in magno timore ibidem remanserunt.

May 1. He defeats the Templars and Hospitallers at Nazareth.

He takes Tiberias, July 3.

Hoveden, 362. a. 35. Abstract of the following letter.

Saladinus autem regressus in terram suam, magnum congregavit exercitum, et die Veneris proxima post festum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, cum octoginta millibus militum et amplius, terram Jerosolimitanam ingressus est, et Tabariam cepit. Quod cum nunciatum esset Gwidoni de Lezinan regi Jerusalem, assumpsit secum Templarios et Hospitalarios et populum quem habere potuit, et comitem de Tripes, qui paulo ante pacem fecerat cum eo, et processit versus Tabariam per unam dietam ad bellandum. Et facto congressu cum Saladino, Christianorum exercitus devictus, et rex Jerusalem captus est, et Crux Christi, in qua nos redemit, capta est, et fere omnes Christiani interfecti sunt. Pauci quidem de illo miserabili campo evaserunt; unde cives Januenses in hac forma scripserunt Urbano summo pontifici.

Battle of Hittin (July 4); the True Cross and king Guy are taken.

fo. 122 r°.

[1] Roger de Moulins.

" *Epistola Januensium ad Urbanum papam.*[1]

Abstract given in Hoveden, 362. a. 38.

A.D. 1187. The Genoese write to the pope the history of the invasion of Palestine.

" Piissimo patri et domino Urbano, Dei gratia Sanctæ et " Universalis Ecclesiæ pastori dignissimo, Januenses de com- " muni debitam in omnibus cum subjectione reverentiam. Ex " celebris famæ relatu, sanctissime pater, et lugubri civis " nostri de ultramarinis partibus redeuntis narratione, didici- " mus judicia quæ operatus est Deus in partibus illis his " diebus, et quomodo provocatus peccatis nostris ante tempus " quodammodo visus est judicare orbem terræ in æquitate, " sed misericordiæ Suæ oblitus. Dum enim rex Babyloniæ " Saladinus cum octoginta millibus militum et eo amplius, " insequenti die Veneris post festum Apostolorum Petri et " Pauli, terram Jerúsalem intrasset, et Tabariam vi cepisset, " excepta castri munitione, qua se domina[2] loci cum paucis " militibus receperat, nunciata sunt regi quæ acciderant. Et " cum ipsi regi potius assideret de muniendis civitatibus et " locis, quam adeo subito se discrimini pugnæ objicere, tan- " dem de consilio comitis de Tripes, qui cum eo nuper fœdera " pacis inierat, ad instantiam Miliani, cum lacrymis domino- " rum de Tabernia, qui ad succursum matris anhelabant, rex " processit versus Taberniam. Deinceps comes, et dux et " prævius itineris, totum exercitum in eminentem et saxosum " locum constituit. Ibi vero imminentibus hostibus undique, " necessitate compulsus rex de baronum consilio bellum com- " mittere dignum duxit, et ad eorum instantiam magistro et " militibus Templi primos ictus concessit; dispositis per acies " certis militibus ordine suo ad pugnandum, et comiti Tripo- " litano cæterisque capitibus bellatorum vexillis traditis. " Itaque militia Templi, sicut leo fortis in hostes concurrens, " partem stravit, partem fugavit. Cæteri vero, regio spreto " mandato, nec processerunt ad pugnam nec ullum eis præsta- " vere succursum, unde milites Templi retenti et trucidati " sunt. Postmodum Christianorum exercitum laborioso itinere " confectum, et nimio calore prægravatum, aqua omnino de- " ficiente, Parthi igne circumdederunt. Tunc sex ex militibus " regis, scilicet Baldewinus de Fortuna, et Raulfus Buceus

July 3, Saladin took Tiberias all but the citadel.

The count of Tripoli guides the army into a dangerous place, where the king is forced to flight.

July 4. The Templars perish, and the army is hemmed in.

[1] This is one of the few letters of which the sense only is given in Hoveden, whilst our Chronicle has the text in full. It is given in full also in the Continuation of William of Tyre, MS. Br. Mus., Reg. 14 C. 10. See Memorials of Rich. I., vol. i., præf. lxxiii.

[2] *domina*] Eschiva, wife of the count of Tripoli. See above, vol. i., p. 359, note [1].

A.D. 1187.

Certain traitors desert to Saladin, and betray the state of the Christians.

Abstract given in Hoveden, 362. a. 50.

"et Laodicius de Tabaria,[1] cum aliis tribus sociis, diabolico "spiritu arrepti ad Saladinum confugerunt, et sponte Sara-"ceni facti de omni esse et proposito atque continentiis "Christianorum eum instruxerunt. Saladinus vero, quia de "discrimine prælii anxius dubitabat, resumpsit vires, et cum "tubis et multitudine bellatorum infinita, in Christianos, qui "propter loca et saxosa et invia pugnare non poterant, assul-"tum fecerunt, et eos omni genere pugnandi Saladinus im-"pugnavit, et expugnavit. Tandem Tekedinus Saladini nepos, "Gwidonem regem Jerusalem fugam arripientem, et crucem "ligni Dominici cepit. Cæteri omnes fere confracti, capti, "trucidati et vinculis mancipati sunt ab ipsis Parthis, proh "dolor! in campo omnino superati. Statim vero Saladinus "militiam Templi et Hospitalis milites segregari fecit ab aliis, "et coram se decapitari; et ipse principem Reinaldum de "Castellione[2] propria manu interfecit. Dein civitatem Acon "cepit,[3] et adjacentia loca et munitiones fere omnes de par-"tibus illis. Syri qui in partibus illis remanserant, sicut "ferebatur, nuncios de reddenda civitate Saladino mittebant. "In Tyro omnes qui de Accon confugerant, et multitudo pro-"fugorum Christianorum se recepit. Ascalona bene victuali-"bus et bellatoribus inclytis est bene munita; et Antiochia et "Margatum, cum tota fere terra principis, sunt bene munitæ. "Terra Tripolitani principis adhuc salva erat. Super his "itaque tam gravissimis et inopinatis malis, quæ peccatis exi-"gentibus justo Dei judicio emerserunt, clementissime pater, "tanquam summus pontifex, Christi vicarius, pius papa et "dominus, super gregem Dominicum vobis commissum sancta "cogitatione intendite, deliberatione prudentissima providete, "et operis efficacia magnanimiter procedite. Convenite gentes "et adunate populos, et ad recuperanda sancta sanctorum, et "ad recuperandam terram illam beatissimam ubi steterunt "pedes Domini, ubi radiant officinæ redemptionis nostræ et "Christianæ fidei sacramenta, cor in humerum date. Non "enim obliviscetur misereri Deus, Qui in ira continet miseri-"cordias Suas, quia prope est Dominus invocantibus Eum in "veritate. Nos sane, licet de possessionibus cum multa san-

Guy and the True Cross are taken.

fo. 122 v°.

Reginald of Châtillon murdered by Saladin.

Hoveden's abstract ends.

Acre is taken; Ascalon, Antioch, and Tripoli are still safe.

The Genoese entreat the pope to use his influence.

Ps. lxxvii. 9.

Ps. cxlv. 18.

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[1] These three names are given by the Hospitallers in their circular letter thus:—"Baldoinus de Far-"mor, et Bachaberbocus de Ta-"baria, et Leisius." Ansbert, ed. Dobrowsky, p. 3. "Baldonius de "Fatinor, et Bachibocus de Tha-"baria, et Leusius." Chron. Reichersperg, ed. J. P. de Ludewig, Script. ii. 322.

[2] Prince of Kerak.

[3] Acre was taken on the 9th of July, and the news contained in this letter must have been sent off almost immediately.

A.D. 1187.

"guinis partis nostrorum majorum effusione, per novos do-"minos qui nec Deum timere videbantur nec homines vereri, "in partibus illis injuriam patimur, nec ullam adhuc inde "potuerimus consequi rationem, sicut ad sanctitatis vestræ "notitiam pervenisse non dubitamus, mandatis vestris, tan-"quam patris et domini, nulla ratione deerimus. Valeat in "Domino sanctitas vestra, pie pater.

"*Epistola fratris Terrici, magni præceptoris Templi Jerusalem.*[1] July.

Hoveden, 363. a. 14.

Terricus, the great preceptor of the Temple, informs his brethren that Saladin took Tiberias (July 3),

"Frater Terricus,[2] pauperrimæ domus Templi dictus mag-"nus præceptor, omnisque fratrum pauperrimus et fere omnino "adnihilatus conventus, universis præceptoribus et fratribus "Templi ad quos litteræ istæ pervenerint, salutem, et in Eum "suspirare Cujus pulchritudinem Sol et Luna mirantur. Quot "quantisque calamitatibus ira Dei, nostris peccatis exigenti-"bus, nos in præsenti flagellari permiserit, nec litteris nec "voce flebili, proh dolor! explicare valemus. Turci enim "immensam gentium suarum multitudinem congregantes, "Christianorum nostrorum fines acriter invadere cœperunt. "Contra quos nos nostrarum gentium phalanges coadunantes, "infra octavas beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli[3] cum "eis congredi, et versus Tiberiadem, quam violenter, castro "solo relicto, ceperant, iter arripere præsumpsimus. Cumque "nos in scopulis pessimis impulissent, nos ita acriter expug-"naverunt, quod cruce sancta et rege nostro captis, et omni "multitudine nostra interfecta, et fratrum nostrorum, ut in "veritate credimus, eodem die ducentis triginta decollatis, "exceptis illis sexaginta qui prima die Maii interempti sunt, "vix dominus Tripolis et dominus Reginaldus Sidonis, domi-

and routed the Christian forces, killing two hundred and thirty knights.

fo. 123 r°.

[1] This letter occurs also in R. de Diceto, 635; Chron. Reichersperg. 320; in the Continuation of William of Tyre, MS. Reg. 14, C. 10, lib. ii. cap. 6.

[2] *Terricus*] Terrencius, B. He is said to have succeeded Arnold, the Grand Master who died in 1184, and to have been the Grand Master who was taken at the battle of Hittin. *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, &c. R. de Diceto, 639. Gerard de Bidesford, however, is mentioned by the author of the Itinerarium (p. 6) as the Grand Master in May 1187, and as taken at Hittin (p. 16); so that Terric must have resigned his office before this time. As in this letter he mentions his escape from the battle of Hittin, it is hardly likely that he was Grand Master in July 1187; but it may be fairly doubted whether he ever held the office. He may have been deputy during the captivity of Gerard.

[3] "v°. scilicet et iiii°. non. Julii," ins. R. de Diceto.

A.D. 1187. July. Terricus, Balian, and the count of Tripoli escaped.

Hoveden, 363. a. 38.

"nusque Ballovius[1] et nos, de illo miserabili campo evadere "potuimus. Deinde pagani Christianorum nostrorum san- "guine debacchati, versus civitatem Accon cum omni sua "multitudine venire non distulerunt. Quam violenter ca- "pientes totam terram fere capientes invaserunt, Jerusalem "et Aschalon, Tyro, Beryto,[2] nobis et Christianitati solis "adhuc relictis. Istas etiam civitates, omnibus earum fere "civibus interfectis, nisi Divinum et vestrum præsto sit auxi- "lium, nullo modo retinere poterimus. Civitatem etiam Tyri "impræsentiarum acriter obsidentes, violenter die noctuque "expugnare non cessant. Et tanta est eorum copia, quod "totam terræ faciem a Tyro usque Jerusalem, et usque ad "Gazam, velut formicæ frequentes existentes cooperuerunt. "Nobis ergo et Christianitati Orientis ad præsens omnino "deperditæ, quantocius succurrere dignemini; ut per Domini "et vestræ fraternitatis eminentiam residuas civitates vestro "fulti adminiculo salvare possimus. Valete."

Jerusalem, Ascalon, Tyre, and Beirout only hold out.

The Hospitallers write similar letters.

Hospitalis quoque fratres eodem modo scripserunt fratribus suis, exponentes eis rei eventum, et poscentes ab eis velocem succursum.[3]

Pope Urban III. dies of grief at Ferrara, Oct. 20.

Hoveden, 362. b. 37.

His auditis, dominus papa Urbanus plurimum contristatus, quod hæc in diebus suis accidissent, in gravem incidit infirmitatem; qua decoctus infra tertium diem post festum Lucæ Evangelistæ migravit e sæculo apud Ferrariam, xiii°. kalendas Octobris.[4] Cui successit, undecimo kalendas Octobris,[4] Albertus cancellarius suus, et vocatus est Gregorius octavus. Qui statim fecit Octovianum cancellarium suum, qui, ut supra dictum, missus fuerat in Angliam cum Hugone de Nunant a papa Urbano.

Gregory VIII. succeeds.

Interim magister Petrus Blesensis scripsit Henrico regi Angliæ;

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[1] *Ballovius*] Balian of Ibelin.

[2] *Beryto*] Berriton, B. The date of the letter may be guessed, Berytus being mentioned as yet in the hands of the Christians. It must have been written before the news of the capture of Berytus on the 6th of August reached the writer.

[3] The letters of the Hospitallers are given in Ansbert, ed. Dobrowsky, pp. 2, &c.

[4] A mistake for November.

"*Epistola magistri Petri Blesensis ad Henricum regem Angliæ.*[1] A.D. 1187. About September.

Peter of Blois informs Henry II. of the captivity of Guy and the conquest of Palestine. The king of Sicily is in sackcloth; and the cardinals are going to turn mendicants.

Abstract given in Hoveden, 362. b. 41.

"Audivimus quomodo Jerusalem destructa est, et quomodo "crux in qua Christus nos redemit capta est. Rex Jerusalem "in Babylonem ductus est. Omnes civitates et munitiones "præter Ascalonem et Tripolim captæ sunt; et adhuc utrum "Jerusalem poterit canibus immundis resistere, dubitatur. "Dominus rex Siciliæ, auditis his rumoribus, statim se cilicio "induit, et per quatuor dies plangens, et a facie hominum se "abscondens, illi terræ succurrere pro posse suo anxie et "constanti devotione promisit. Cardinales autem de assensu "domini papæ inter se firmiter promiserunt, quod abjectis "omnibus divitiis et deliciis, prædicabunt Crucem Christi, "non solum verbo, sed opere, et exemplo, et euntes mendi"cando accipient crucem primi, et prædicabunt; et præcedent "alios in terram Jerusalem. Statuerunt etiam de assensu "domini papæ, firmissimas treugas inter omnes principes "Christianitatis usque ad septennium, ita quod quicunque "guerram contra Christianum medio tempore moverit, male"dictioni Dei et domini papæ, atque excommunicationi omnium "prælatorum universalis ecclesiæ subjacebit. Firmiter etiam "inter se promiserunt, quod de cætero nulla munera recipient "ab aliquo, qui causam habeat in curia, sed ea tantum reci"pere poterunt quæ fuerint pro eorum necessitate et susten"tatione donata vel missa, et non ascendent in equum quam- fo. 123 vº. "diu terra in qua steterunt pedes Domini fuerit sub pedibus "inimici. Valete."

A truce of seven years is enjoined on all Christian princes.

"*Epistola Gregorii papæ octavi.*[2] October 29.

Hoveden, 363. b. 1.

Gregory VIII. declares himself horrified at the news from the East.

"Gregorius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, universis Christi "fidelibus ad quos litteræ istæ pervenerint, salutem et apo"stolicam benedictionem. Audita tremendi severitate judicii "quam super terram Jerusalem Divina manus exercuit, toto "sumus nos et fratres nostri horrore confusi, tantisque afflicti "doloribus, ut non facile nobis occurreret, quid agere, vel "quid facere debeamus, nisi quod psalmista deplorat et dicit:
Ps. lxxix. 1. "'Deus, venerunt gentes in hæreditatem Tuam, etc.' Ex "occasione quippe dissensionis, quæ malitia hominum nuper

[1] This letter is given in Dr. Giles's edition of the letters of Peter of Blois, Ep. 224.

[2] This letter is given also by William of Newburgh, iii. 21.

A.D. 1187. October 29. He laments over the loss of the True Cross, the capture of the king, and the massacre of the knights.

" in terra ex suggestione diaboli facta est, accessit Saladinus " cum multitudine armatorum ad partes illas. Et occurrentibus rege et episcopis, Templariis et Hospitalariis, baronibus et militibus cum populo terræ, et cruce Dominica, per " quam ex memoria et fide Passionis Christi, Qui pependit et " genus humanum redemit in ea, certum solebat esse tutamen, " et contra paganorum incursus desiderata defensio, facta est " congressio inter eos. Et superata parte nostrorum, capta " est Crux Dominica, trucidati episcopi, captus est rex, et " universi fere aut occisi gladio aut hostilibus manibus deprehensi, ita ut paucissimi per fugam elapsi sint; ipsi " quoque Templarii et Hospitalares in ejus oculis decollati " sunt. Superato itaque exercitu, qualiter subsequenter invaserint et rapuerint universa, ita ut non nisi pauca loca " remansisse dicantur, quæ non in eorum devenerint potestatem, non credimus litteris nostris explicandum. Nos " autem, licet cum propheta dicere habeamus, 'Quis det capiti " 'meo aquam et oculis meis fontem lacrymarum, et plorabo " 'nocte et die interfectos populi mei,' non tamen adeo " dicere debemus ut in diffidentiam incidamus, et credamus Deum ita populo Suo iratum, ut quod communium " faciente multitudine peccatorum fieri permisit iratus, nec " cito per misericordiam pœnitentia placatus alleviet, et per " lacrymationem et fletum exultationem inducat. Quisquis " sane in tanta lugendi materia, si non corpore, corde non " luget, non tantum fidei Christianæ, quæ cum omnibus dolentibus docet esse dolendum; sed ipsius etiam humanitatis " nostræ oblitus, cum ex ipsa periculi magnitudine ac feritate " barbarica, Christianum sanguinem sitiente, ac totam suam " in hoc apponente virtutem, ut profanare sancta, et titulum " Dei valeant auferre de terra, quod nos tacemus, discretus " quisque valet æstimare. Sane cum prophetæ toto studio " prius laboraverunt, postmodum apostoli et sequaces eorum, " ut Divinus cultus esset in terra illa, et ad omnia climata " mundi ex ea deflueret; immo, quod maximum est et ineffabile, Deus Qui voluit incarnari, per Quem facta sunt " universa, per ineffabilem sapientiam, et incomprehensibilem " misericordiam Suam, per infirmitatem carnis, esuriem, " sitim, crucem et mortem et resurrectionem, nostram salutem voluit ibi operari; juxta quod dicitur, 'Qui operatus " 'est salutem in medio terræ,' per Seipsum dignatus sit " ad hoc laborare; nec lingua dicere, nec sensus cogitare " potest, quantum nobis et universo dolendum sit populo " Christiano, quod id nunc perpessa sit terra illa, quod sub " veteri populo legitur pertulisse. Nos autem credere non " debemus quod ex injustitia Judicis ferientis, sed ex iniqui-

Hoveden, 363. b. 13.

Jer. ix. 1.

Ps. lxxiv. 12.

fo. 124 rº.

Hoveden, 363. b. 45. Deut. xxxii. 30. " tate potius populi delinquentis, pervenerint; cum legamus, " quod quando populus convertebatur ad Dominum, persequebatur unus mille, et duo fugabant decem millia; immo " ipso populo quiescente, exercitum Sennacherib angelica " manu consumptum. Sed terra illa devoravit habitatores " suos, et nec diu quietum statum, nec transgressores legis " Divinæ potuit retinere, doctrinam et exemplum tribuens illis " qui ad cœlestem Jerusalem intenderent; quod non potest " ad eam, nisi per exercitium boni operis et tentationes plurimas pervenire. Potuerunt autem jam pridem ista timeri, " quando Arroasia,[1] et alia terra transiit in potestatem paganorum; et fuisset bene provisum, si populus qui remanserat " ad pœnitentiam rediisset, et Deum Quem prævaricatione " offenderat conversione placasset. Nec enim subito venit ira " Ejus, sed ultionem differt et tempus tribuit pœnitendi; " tandem vero, quia in misericordia judicium non amittit, et " vindictam Suam ad pœnam transgredientium, et cautelam " salvandorum exercet. Porro nos, qui in tanta terræ illius " contritione, non solum peccatum habitatorum ejus, sed et " nostrum et totius populi Christiani, debemus attendere; et " vereri, ne quod reliquum est terræ illius depereat, et in " alias etiam potestas eorum desæviat regiones: cum ex omnibus partibus inter reges et principes, civitates et civitates, " dissensiones audiamus et scandala, et lugere cum propheta " et dicere valeamus, 'Non est veritas nec scientia Dei in " 'terra. Mendacium, homicidium et adulterium inundaverunt, " 'et sanguis sanguinem tetigit.' Unde hoc universis et " cogitandum imminet et agendum, ut peccata nostra castigatione voluntaria emendantes, per pœnitentiam et opera " pietatis convertamur ad Dominum Deum nostrum: et in " nobis, primo quod male gessimus, emendemus, et deinde " feritatem et malitiam hostium attendamus. Et quod illi " contra Deum tentare non timent, nos pro Deo agere nullatenus hæsitemus. Cogitate, filii, qualiter in hunc mundum " venistis, et qualiter exituri estis, et qualiter transeant " universa, et pariter transeatis et vos, et pœnitendi et bene " agendi tempus, quantum spectat ad vos, cum gratiarum " actione recipite, et date vestra, date post vos ipsos, non in

A.D. 1187. Oct. 29.

Num. xiii. 33.

The capture of Edessa ought to have been a warning.

Exertions must be made to save what is left.

Hosea iv. 1.

Advantage should be taken of the season of repentance.

[1] Edessa (Roha, Orfa), here called Arroasia, a name derived from its ancient Greek title of Callirrhoe, was taken in 1143. It is probable that the name of Rages in Media is so often given wrongly to Edessa in the medieval chronicles, owing to the misunderstanding of the name Arroasia or Rohesia. The true Rages is El Rey, near Teheran, of course very far east of Edessa.

A.D. 1187. October 29.

Treasure must be laid up in heaven.

"exterminium, sed in conversationem, Ei a Quo et vos et omnia Hoveden. 364. a. 10.
"vestra recepistis: quia non estis ex vobis nec quicquam a "vobis habetis, qui nec culicem unum potestis facere super "terram. Nec dicimus dimittere, sed præmittere in cœleste "horreum, quæ habetis, et deponite super Eum, apud Quem "ærugo ea non demolitur aut tinea, nec fures effodiunt et S. Matt. vi. 20.
"furantur; laborantes ad redemptionem terræ illius, in qua "pro salute nostra Veritas de terra orta est, et pro nobis Ps. lxxxv. 11.
"crucis patibulum sustinere non despexit. Et nolite ad hoc "lucrum vel gloriam temporalem attendere, sed voluntatem "Dei Qui pro fratribus animas in Seipso docuit esse ponen-"das, et Ei vestras commendate divitias, quas sive volentes, "sive nolentes, nescitis tandem quibus, hæredibus sitis relic-"turi. Non est equidem novum, quod terra illa judicio

fo. 124 v°.

"Divino percutitur, sed nec insolitum ut flagellata et casti-"gata misericordiam consequatur. Poterat quidem Dominus "sola eam voluntate servare, sed non habemus Ei dicere

The example of the Maccabees should be followed.

"cur ita fecerit; voluit enim forsitan experiri, et in notitiam "ducere aliorum, si aliquis sit intelligens aut requirens Deum "qui oblatum sibi pœnitentiæ tempus hilariter amplectatur, "et animam ponendo pro fratribus consummetur in brevi, et Wisd. iv. 13.
"compleat tempora multa. Attendite qualiter Machabæi, zelo "Divinæ legis accensi, pro fratribus liberandis extrema quæ-"que pericula sint experti, et non solum substantias sed et "personas pro fratrum docuerint salute ponendas, et hortantes "seipsos atque dicentes, 'Accingimini, et estote filii potentes; 1 Macc. iii. 58.
"'quoniam melius est mori in bello quam videre mala gentis "'nostræ et sanctorum.' Et quidem illi sub una constituti "lege fecerunt, vos per Incarnationem Domini nostri Jesu "Christi, ad lucem veritatis adducti, et multis exemplis in-"structi sanctorum, sine trepidatione aliqua faciatis, et non "timeatis dare terrena et pauca et breviter duratura, qui-"bus illa bona promissa sunt et reposita, 'quæ nec oculus 1 Cor. ii. 9.
"'vidit nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascenderunt;' "et quibus dicit apostolus quod 'non sunt condignæ pas- Rom. viii. 18.
"'siones hujus temporis ad futuram gloriam quæ revelabitur

Plenary indulgence and other privileges promised.

"'in nobis.' Eis autem qui corde contrito et humiliato "spiritu, itineris hujus laborem assumpserint, et in pœni-"tentia peccatorum decesserint et in fide recta; plenam "criminum suorum indulgentiam et vitam pollicemur æter-"nam. Sive autem supervixerint, sive mortui fuerint, de "omnibus peccatis suis, de quibus rectam confessionem fece-"rint, impositæ satisfactionis relaxationem de Omnipotentis "misericordia et apostolorum Petri et Pauli, auctoritate nos-"tra noverint habituros. Bona quoque ipsorum ex quo crucem "susceperint, cum suis famulis, sub sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ,

Hoveden, 364. a. 46. "necnon archiepiscoporum et episcoporum atque aliorum "prælatorum [ecclesiæ] Dei protectione consistant, et nullam "de iis quæ in susceptione crucis quiete possederunt, donec "de ipsorum reditu vel obitu certissime cognoscatur, sus-"tineant quæstionem: sed bona eorum integra interim ma-"neant et quieta. Ad dandas quoque usuras si tenentur "alicui, non cogantur; nec eant in vestibus pretiosis, et cum "canibus sive avibus, aut aliis quæ ostentationi potius quam "necessariis videantur usibus deservire: sed in modesto ap-"paratu et habitu, in quo pœnitentiam potius agere quam "inanem affectare gloriam videantur." A.D. 1187. October 29. The goods of crusaders are to be under protection of the holy see.

"*Item epistola ejusdem Gregorii papæ.*[1]

Hoveden, 364. b. 1. "Gregorius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, universis ad "quos litteræ istæ pervenerint, salutem et apostolicam bene-"dictionem. Nunquam melius Superni Judicis ira placatur, "quam cum ex mandato Ipsius carnalia in nobis desideria ex-"stinguuntur. Proinde quia Jerosolimitanæ terræ discrimen, "quod irruentibus Saracenis nuper evenit, ex peccato maxime "habitatorum terræ, ac totius populi Christiani, accidisse non "dubitamus; nos de fratrum nostrorum communi consilio, "multis episcopis approbantibus, statuimus, ut omnes usque "ad quinquennium saltem per omnes sextas ferias, in cibo "Quadragesimali jejunent; et missa ubi cantanda fuerit ad "nonam cantetur; quod ab Adventu Domini usque ad Natale "Domini statuimus observandum. Feria vero quarta et sab-"bato omnes indifferenter bene valentes a carnibus abstine-"bunt. Nos autem et fratres nostri in secunda quoque feria "nobis et familiis nostris esum carnis interdicimus, nisi forte "aut infirmitas aut magna sollemnitas vel alia evidens causa "visa fuerit impedire; sperantes quod sic nobis ignoscet "Dominus, et relinquet post Se benedictionem. Hoc igitur "adeo statuimus observandum, ut quicunque transgressor "exstiterit quasi prævaricator Quadragesimalis jejunii habea-"tur. Datum Ferrariæ."[2] October 29. Gregory VIII. ordains a fast every Friday for five years on lenten fare; and abstinence from meat on Wednesdays and Saturdays. fo. 125 r°. The families of the pope and cardinals fast on Mondays also. Joel ii. 14.

Hoveden, 364. b. 19. Audientes igitur principes terræ mandata et admonitiones Gregorii papæ, viribus totis anhelabant ad liberationem terræ Jerusalem.

Hoveden, 365. a. 24. Sed præfatus Gregorius vix per duos menses[3] in Dec. 17.

[1] Hoveden has the date, "Datum "Ferrariæ, iv. kal. Novembris, in-"dictione sexta."

[2] Hoveden has the date, "iv. "kal. Novembris."

[3] From Oct. 21 to Dec. 17.

A.D. 1187. Death of Gregory VIII. Election of Clement III. (Dec. 19.)

papatu moram faciens, gravem incidit infirmitatem. Hoveden. 365. a. 25. Qua vehementer decoctus vitam finivit, universæ carnis viam ingressus apud Pyse, et ibi sepultus est. Cui successit Paulus Prænestinus episcopus, et vocatum est nomen ejus Clemens papa tertius.[1]

Capta est Jerusalem a Saladino.

Siege of Jerusalem; (Sept. 20.) surrender (Oct. 3).

Interim Saladinus rex Babyloniæ, capta Cruce Dominica, et capto rege Jerusalem, et omnibus tam Templariis quam Hospitalariis, et cæteris militibus et potentioribus terræ vel captis vel interfectis; et captis civitatibus et munitionibus fere omnibus terræ Jerusalem, obsedit Jerusalem; et infra paucos dies habitantes in ea ad deditionem coacti, reddiderunt eam Saladino et Turrim David. Et ipse Saladinus omnes qui in civitate manere volebant fecit sibi tributarios, et Syris tradidit custodiam Sepulchri usque ad quartum post festum Sancti Michaelis; et decem Hospitalariis tradidit custodiam infirmorum. Tunc adimpletum est quod Jeremias prophetavit de Jerusalem dicens: "Princeps provinciarum facta est sub tributo; plorans Lam. i. 1, 2. "ploravit in nocte, et lacrymæ ejus in maxillis ejus. "Non est qui consoletur eam ex omnibus caris ejus. "Omnes amici ejus spreverunt eam, et facti sunt ei ini-"mici. Omnes persecutores ejus apprehenderunt [eam] Lam. i. 3. "inter angustias." Et alius propheta: "Deus, venerunt Ps. lxxix. 1. "gentes in hæreditatem Tuam, polluerunt templum "sanctum Tuum," etc. Deinde Saladinus, expletis omnibus ad voluntatem suam, mandavit comiti Tripolitano, quod [nisi] fidem quam ei promiserat super pactis inter eos contractis observare voluisset, ipse terram suam devastaret. Comes vero remandavit, ei se bona fide observaturum omnia quæ ei promiserat, et statuit ei diem ad perficiendum ea. Et interim con-

Saladin threatens the count of Tripoli, who promises to submit.

[1] Paul Scolaro, cardinal bishop of Palestrina, 1180–87.

vocatis militibus et hominibus suis, comes Tripolitanus conabatur modis omnibus allicere animos eorum ad consentiendum voluntati suæ; et ut ipsi facerent sicut ipse facturus esset. Ipsi vero Christianæ fidei zelo accensi, quæsierunt inducias respondendi ei usque mane. Sciebant enim ipsum promisisse Saladino se et suos Christianam fidem relinquere et adhærere paganorum ritibus. Mane autem facto, cum omnes convenissent in prætorium prædicti comitis Tripolis, ipse comes, divino percussus judicio, inventus est in lecto suo mortuus; et unusquisque reversus est in domum suam, gratias agens Deo, Qui salvat sperantes in Se.

A.D. 1187. The vassals of the count hesitate to obey.

Death of the count of Tripoli.

Prima pugna contra Saladinum.[1]

Est autem sciendum quod eodem anno, scilicet anno ab Incarnatione Domini M°C°LXXX°VII°., ut supradictum est, Saladinus rex Babyloniæ venit in terram Jerusalem cum copiosa Turcorum multitudine. Et in prima die Maii, festo apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi, die Veneris, pugnavit contra Christianos in foresta Safforia, ubi Christiani devicti sunt, et major pars eorum interfecti fuerunt. Itaque ibidem interempti sexaginta Templarii, cæteri autem fugerunt, de quibus multi capti et interempti fuerunt.

Battle in the forest of Safforia. May 1.

fo. 125 v°.

Secunda pugna.[2]

Saladinus igitur potitus victoria, spolia interfectorum commilitonibus suis distribuit; et mittens ad cæteros paganorum principes, magnum congregavit exercitum.

Saladin collects new forces.

[1] This is the battle of Nazareth, described in the Itinerarium Regis Ricardi i. 2; Chronicon Terræ Sanctæ, c. 3, 4, 5; and in the Cont. Will. Tyr. ap. Martene et Durand, Amplissima Collectio, lib. xxiii. 4, 5.

[2] This is the battle of Hittin or Marescalcia, described in the Itinerarium, i. 5; Cont. W. Tyr. xxiii. 12, 13, 14; Chron. Terræ Sanctæ, c. 11, 12, &c. It was fought on Saturday, July 4.

A.D. 1187. July 6. Battle between Mount Tabor and Tiberias.

Et in octavis Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, die Lunæ, pridie nonas Julii, iterum venit in terram Jerusalem, pugnaturus contra Christianos. Et Christiani, relictis paucis ad defensionem civitatum vel castellorum, profecti sunt contra Saladinum. Et pugnatum est acriter inter eos die illo, inter Montem Thabur et Taberiam. Et iterum digno Dei judicio, propter iniquitates suas et scelera, devicti sunt Christiani et interempti, ita quod paucissimi evadere potuerunt. Ibidem autem ducenti et triginta fratres Templi interempti sunt in conspectu Saladini. Et ipse Saladinus principem Ramundum[1] de Castellione propria manu decollavit.

Death of Reginald of Châtillon.

Rogerus de Mumbrai captus est.

Capture of the Cross, King Guy, Roger Mowbray, and William of Montferrat.

Et in illo prælio, interfecto episcopo qui lignum Crucis, in qua Christus nos redemit, portavit, capta est Crux; et Gwido rex Jerusalem captus est; et multi cum eo, de quibus fuerunt Rogerus[2] de Mumbrai, et Willelmus Marchis.[3] Hugo vero de Bello Campo ibi interfectus est.

Hugh Beauchamp slain.

Saladin captures the fortresses of Palestine.

Ita Saladinus potitus victoria, festinanter saisiavit in manu sua fere omnes civitates et castella et munitiones terræ Jerusalem, nullo resistente. Cepit igitur civitates et castella, quorum hæc sunt nomina.

Baruth, quæ est civitas et castellum.[4] Hoveden, 362. b. 19.
Acra, civitas et castellum.[5]
Tabaria, civitas et castellum.[6]
Nazaret, civitas.[7]
Japhes, civitas.[8]

[1] *Ramundum*] Reginald of Châtillon.

[2] *Rogerus*] Robertus, B. See vol. i. p. 359. Hoveden has Roger, "de Mulbrai, quem in anno sequenti fratres "Hospitalis et Templi redemerunt "de manu paganorum." Hoved. 363. a. 45. See Monast. Angl. vi. 321.

[3] William the Elder, marquis of Montferrat, father of Conrad.

[4] Beirout was taken Aug. 6. Bohadin, 72.

[5] Acre, July 9. Bohadin, 71.

[6] Tiberias, July 5. Bohadin, 71.

[7] Nazareth, between July 5 and July 20. Bohadin, 71.

[8] Joppa was taken at the same time with Lydda and Ramlah. Chron. Terræ Sanctæ, c. 17.

Hoveden, 362. b. 20.

A.D. 1187. List of the fortresses of Palestine.

Seziarie, civitas.[1]
Sanctus Georgius, civitas.[2]
Sanctus Abraam, civitas.
Beltleem, civitas.[3]
Sancta Maria de Caiphas, civitas.[4]

Gabebet, parvum, Gabebet, magnum,[5] Saeta,[6] parvum, Castellum Novum, Saphet,[7] Jaunay,[8]	Castellum.
Mons Tabur,[9] Faba,[10] Caaphar Mundel, Cava Templi, Chaccahu, Calenzun,	Castrum.
Merle Templi, Castellum de Planis, Rames,[11] Turun-as-chivalers,[12] Castellum Arnaldi, Castellum Burgunnium,	Castella.

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1 Cæsarea, between July 5 and July 20. Boh. 71.

2 Lydda, taken doubtless with Ramlah, between August and Sept. 4. Chr. T. S. c. 17.

3 Bethlehem, destroyed on the way to Jerusalem, in September. Chr. T. S. 24.

4 Haifa, between July 5 and July 20. Bohadin, 71.

5 Byblus, between July 30 and Aug. 6. Bohadin, 72; Chr. T. S. 21. I suppose that these Gabebets represent Byblus and Jebleh, but possibly they may be Ibelin of the Hospitallers, Beit-Gebrin, and Ibelin, Jabneh.

6 Sidon, July 27. Bohadin, 72.

7 Safed was not taken until November, 1188. Bohadin, 88.

8 Jafna, Jabneh, between Aug. 6 and Sept. 4. Bohadin, 72.

9 Mount Tabor. Chron. T. S., 19.

10 Faba, La Fève, El Fuleh. Chron. T. S., 18.

11 Ramlah, between Aug. 6 and Sept. 4. Bohadin, 72.

12 Toron of the Knights Hospitallers, now Latroon, taken between Sept. 7 and Sept. 21. Castrum Arnaldi, Beit Nûba, was close to it, and fell, doubtless, at the same time.

A.D. 1187. List of the fortresses of Palestine.

Hoveden, 362. b. 24.

Tarenta, Blacheuarda, Galacia, Gazeres,[1] Darun,[2] Sanctus Georgius in Berria,	Castella.
Rusges Cisterna,[3] La Quarentayne, Castellum Sancti Petri, Sanctus Lazarus de Bethania[4]	Castella.
Mons Oliveti, abbatia et Vallis de Japhes,[5] abbatia et Sancta Maria de Monte Sion,	Castellum.

Omnes civitates et castella quadraginta et i.

Tertia pugna apud Antiochiam.

Account of a battle between Tortosa and Antioch.

Captis itaque prædictis civitatibus et castellis, Saladinus eodem anno, ante festum Nativitatis Sanctæ Mariæ Genitricis Dei, magno congregato exercitu profectus est versus Antiochiam, et inter Sanctam Mariam de Turtusa et Antiochiam prælium commisit jam tertio fo. 126 r°. contra Christianos, et devicit eos.[6] Et inde reversus Jerosolimam obsedit eam, et ad tantam coegit inopiam, quod paucitas illa virorum, qui de supradictis præliis evaserunt, concessit Saladino, ad petitionem ipsius Saladini, pro treugis habendis, usque ad medium mensis Maii ponere vexillum suum in summitate Turris David.

[1] Gaza, between Sept. 7 and 21.

[2] Darum, taken between Aug. 6 and Sept. 4.

[3] Rouge Cisterne, the fortress of Adummim, taken immediately after the capture of Nazareth in July. Chron. Terræ Sanctæ, c. 19.

[4] Bethany, destroyed on the way to Jerusalem, in September. Chron. T. S., 24.

[5] The abbey of the Assumption in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, destroyed on the march to Jerusalem. Chron. T. S., c. 25.

[6] This seems to be a curious piece of confusion. Saladin certainly did not march upon Antioch until nearly a year after the capture of Jerusalem; and it was *Antioch*, not Jerusalem, for which the truce from September 1188 to May 1189 was concluded. See Itiner. Regis Ricardi, i. 13; and Bohadin, 86.

Hoveden, 365. a. 28. Unde factum est quod multi Christianorum, qui acriter restiterunt Saracenis, castella et casella quam plurima reddiderunt Saladino. A.D. 1187.

Saladinus vero omnia quæ ceperat, tam civitates quam castella dedit commilitonibus suis; retenta sibi tantummodo regia dignitate et justitia. Dedit itaque filio suo civitatem Acram, et totam circumjacentem provinciam. Qui, maximo congregato exercitu, profectus est versus civitatem de Sur, volens obsidere eam. Cujus adventu prænunciato, Conradus filius Willelmi Marchis de Monte Ferraunt, qui eandem civitatem de Sur bene munierat hominibus bellicosis et armis et victualibus, præcepit eis, quos ipse ad custodiam civitatis dimiserat, quod ipsi armati latitassent infra domos et latebras murorum, et quod mulieres quasi vagando incederent per plateas et vicos civitatis, et quod omnes portæ civitatis aperirentur. Et ipse exivit cum ducentis militibus et aliis viris bellicosis, et abscondit se et eos qui cum eo erant infra abrupta montium et cavernas terræ, exspectantes adventum prædicti filii regis Saladini.

Saladin divides the fortresses among his followers.

Tyre defended by Conrad of Montferrat.

Quarta pugna, in qua filius Saladini captus est.[1]

Et paulo post prædictus filius Saladini, cum copiosa Turcorum et aliorum virorum armatorum multitudine, venit usque ad civitatem de Sur, quæ etiam Tyrus vocatur; et videns portas civitatis apertas, et neminem intus præter mulieres incedentes per vicos et plateas civitatis, æstimabat, quod audito adventu eorum omnes fugissent, et præcepit Turcis suis intrare, et ipse cum eis intravit. Supradictus vero Coenredus jam videns quod ipsi civitatem Tyri intrassent, exivit de cavernis in quibus ipse et sui latitabant; deinde profectus ad

Battle of Tyre.

[1] This is probably the battle at Tyre, on the 29th of December, 1187. See Itiner. R. Ricardi, i. 10.

A.D. 1187. Battle of Tyre. civitatem Tyri, divisit socios suos per turmas, et confestim misit se et suos infra muros civitatis. Tunc cæteri qui infra domos et murorum latebras latitabant, emerserunt se cum armatis catervis. Et facto impetu in paganos, illos durissima morte affecerunt; et pagani velut oves ex improviso a lupis occupati stupefacti sunt. Coenredus vero, ex altera parte cum turmis armatis incedens, socios suos viriliter insistere hortatur, lethiferosque ictus ingeminant; et ipse et sui nullam pietatem habentes, paganos hoc modo inquietare non quieverunt donec, cunctis fere interfectis, filium Saladini caperent et retinerent.

Lamentatio de Terra Sancta Jerusalem.

Lamentation of Berter of Orleans on the loss of Palestine.

Hoveden, 364. b. 25.

1. Juxta threnos Jeremiæ
Vestræ lugent, Syon, viæ,
Quod sollemni non sit die,
  Qui sepulcrum visitet,
  Vel casum resuscitet,
Hujus prophetiæ.

2. Contra quod propheta scribit,
Quod de Syon Lex exibit,
fo. 126 v°. Numquid ibi Lex peribit?
  Nec habebit vindicem?
  Ubi Christus calicem,
Passionis bibit.

3. Lignum Crucis,[1]
Signum ducis,
  Sequitur exercitus,
Quod non cessit,
Sed præcessit,
  In vi Sancti Spiritus.

[1] Lignum Crucis, rep. B., as the burden of the verse.

Hoveden, 364. b. 44.

A.D. 1187. Lamentation of Berter of Orleans on the loss of Palestine.

4. Ad portandum onus Tyri,
Non deberent fortes viri,
Suas vires experiri,
Qui certant quotidie,
Laudibus militiæ,
Gratis insigniri.
Lignum Crucis.

5. Sed ad pugnam congressuris,
Est athletis opus duris,
Non mollitis Epicuris.
Non enim qui pluribus,
Cutem curant [sumptibus] [1]
Emunt Deum pluris.[2]
Lignum Crucis.

6. Novi rursum Philistæi,
Capta cruce, crucis rei,
Receperunt arcam Dei,
Arcam novi fœderis,
Rem figuræ veteris,
Post figuram rei.
Lignum Crucis.

7. Sed cum constet quod sint isti
Præcursores Antichristi,
Quibus Christus vult resisti,
Quid qui non restiterit
Respondere poterit
In adventu Christi?
Lignum Crucis.

8. Crucis spretor crucem premit [3]
Ex qua fides pressa gemit,
In vindictam qui non fremit?

[1] *sumptibus*] om. B.
[2] *pluris*] precibus, Hoveden, contrary to the metre.
[3] *premit*] sprevit, B., corr. from Hoveden.

A.D. 1187.
Lamentation of Berter of Orleans on the loss of Palestine.

Hoveden. 364. b. 43.

Quanti fidem æstimat,
Tanti crucem redimat,
Siquem crux redemit.
Lignum Crucis.

9. Quibus minus est argenti,
Si fideles sint inventi
Pura fide sint contenti;
Satis est Dominicum
Corpus ad viaticum
Crucem defendenti.
Lignum Crucis.

10 Christus tradens Se tortori
Mutuavit peccatori:
Si, peccator, non vis mori
Propter pro te mortuum,
Male solvis mutuum
Tuo Creatori.
Lignum Crucis.

11. Sane potest indignari
Cui declinas inclinari,
Dum in crucis torculari
Pro te factus Hostia
Tibi tendit brachia,
Nec vis amplexari.
Lignum Crucis.

12. Cum attendas ad quid tendo
Crucem tollas, et vovendo
Dicas, Illi me commendo,
Qui corpus et animam
Expendit in victimam
Pro me moriendo.
Lignum Crucis.

Chichester burnt.

Eodem anno, scilicet ab Incarnatione Domini M°C°LXXX°VII°., nobilis ecclesia sedis pontificalis civitatis C[ic]estriæ combusta est, cum tota fere civitate. Hoveden. 365. a. 26.

A.D. 1187. Plague and murrain.

Eodem anno, exstitit per totam Angliam gravis et pestifera hominum et animalium et pecudum mortalitas.

Hoveden, 363. a. 47. Marriage of the countess of Brittany to Ranulf of Chester.

Eodem anno, comitissa Britanniæ, post obitum Gaufridi filii regis Angliæ, mariti sui, desponsata est Ranulfo juniori comiti Cestriæ, per donationem regis Henrici.

Hoveden, 363. a. 54. Richard takes the Cross.

Eodem anno, Ricardus comes Pictaviæ, filius et hæres Henrici regis, crucem accepit Jerosolimam iturus.

Hoveden, 365. a. 54. fo. 127 r°. Henry keeps Christmas of 1187-8 at Caen, and goes thence to Barfleur.

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini M°C°LXXX°VIII°., qui est annus xxxiv[tus]. regni regis Henrici secundi, idem Henricus rex, filius Matildis imperatricis, moram faciens in Normannia, tenuit festum sollemne die Nativitatis Dominicæ, quæ Sabbato evenit, apud Cadomum; et profectus inde versus Barbefluctum, volens inde transfretare in Angliam.

Hoveden, 365. b. 2. A.D. 1188. Philip renews his claim to Gisors, and insists on Richard's marriage.

Interim Philippus rex Francorum magnum congregavit exercitum, jactans impudenter se vastaturum Normanniam et cæteras terras regis Angliæ transmarinas, si non reddidisset ei Gisorcium cum pertinentiis suis; vel si non fecisset Ricardum comitem Pictaviæ, filium suum, accipere sibi in conjugem Alesiam sororem suam, filiam Lodowici regis Franciæ patris sui.

Hoveden, 365. b. 6. Henry II. and Philip II. hold a conference at Gisors, January 21.

Audiens igitur has minas, rex Angliæ reversus est in Normanniam usque Gisorcium: et accepto colloquio inter ipsum et prædictum regem Franciæ inter Trye et Gisorcium, die Sanctæ Agnetis virginis et martyris, duodecimo kalendas Februarii, convenerunt illuc cum archiepiscopis et episcopis et comitibus et baronibus regnorum suorum.

Hoveden, 365. b. 10. The archbishop of Tyre makes

Interim archiepiscopus civitatis Tyri,[1] quæ Romana lingua vocatur Sur, venit citra Alpes ad prædicandum

[1] It is not certain whether this archbishop of Tyre was the famous William of Tyre the historian, as I have supposed in Memorials of Richard I., vol. i. p. 31, or a successor of his named Joseph. See Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*. The MS. Continuation of W. Tyr., MS. Reg. 14, C. 10, calls him William. Lib. ii. c. 11.

A.D. 1188. January 21. peace between Henry and Philip, and both take the Cross.

Hoveden, 365. b. 10, shorter.

et petendum auxilium ad defensionem Jerusalem. Qui cum audisset quod prædicti reges cepissent inter se colloquium, omnibus negotiis suis prætermissis, venit ad colloquium illud; et repletus Spiritu sapientiæ et intellectus, miro modo prædicavit verbum Domini coram regibus et principibus, et convertit corda eorum ad crucem capiendam. Et qui prius hostes erant, illo prædicante et Deo cooperante, facti sunt amici in illa die, et crucem de manu prædicti archiepiscopi acceperunt. Et in eadem hora qua prædicti reges crucem susceperunt, apparuit supra eos signum crucis in cœlo. Quo viso tam a clericis quam a laicis, omnes gavisi sunt gaudio magno, et catervatim ruebant ad crucem capiendam. Prædicti vero reges in susceptione crucis ad distinguendam gentem suam, signum evidens providerunt. Nam rex Franciæ et gens sua cruces rubeas susceperunt, et rex Angliæ et gens sua cruces albas susceperunt; et comes Flandriæ cum gente sua cruces virides suscepit. Et sic unusquisque ad prævidendum sibi et itineri suo necessaria reversus est in regionem suam.

The different nations choose crosses of various colours.

January. In a council at Le Mans Henry II. and his bishops levy the Saladin tithe.

Hoveden, 365. b. 20; 366. a. 14.

Henricus igitur rex Angliæ, post crucis susceptionem, venit usque Cenomannum, et ibi ordinatum est ab eo, in præsentia Ricardi filii ejus, comitis Pictaviæ, et Willelmi[1] Turonensis archiepiscopi, et Baldewini Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, et Walteri Rothomagensis archiepiscopi; et in præsentia Johannis Ebroycensis episcopi,[2] et Radulfi Andegavensis[3] episcopi, et R. Cenomanensis,[4] et M.[5] Namnetensis episcopi, et in præsentia Hugonis de Nunaunt Cestrensis electi, et Elisiardi Sagiensis electi; et in præsentia baronum Andegaviæ, Cenomanniæ, Turenorum; quod

fo. 127 v°.

"(I.) Unusquisque decimam reddituum et mobilium suorum "in eleemosynam dabit hoc anno, exceptis armis et equis, et

[1] Bartholomew was archbishop of Tours at this time.

[2] John Fitz Luke.

[3] Ralph de Beaumont.

[4] Reginald.

[5] Matthew.

Hoveden, 365. b. 23. " vestibus militum; exceptis similiter equis et libris et ves- A.D. 1188. January.
" tibus et vestimentis, et omnimoda capella clericorum, et Ordinance of the Saladin tithe.
" lapidibus pretiosis tam clericorum quam laicorum.

" (II.) Colligatur autem pecunia ista in singulis parochiis, " præsente presbytero parochiæ, et archipresbytero, et uno " Templario et uno Hospitalario, et serviente domini regis et " clerico regis, serviente baronis et clerico ejus et clerico " episcopi; facta prius excommunicatione ab archiepiscopis, " episcopis, archipresbyteris singulis in singulis parochiis " super unumquemque, qui decimam prætaxatam legitime " non dederit, sub præsentia et conscientia illorum qui debent, " sicut dictum est, interesse. Et si aliquis juxta conscientiam " illorum minus dederit quam debuerit, eligentur de parochia " quatuor vel sex viri legitimi, qui jurati dicant quantitatem " illam quam ille debuisset dixisse; et tunc oportebit illum " superaddere quod minus dedit.

" (III.) Clerici autem et milites, qui crucem acceperunt, " nihil de decima ista dabunt, sed de proprio suo et domi- " nico; et quicquid homines illorum debuerint ad opus illorum " colligentur per supradictos, et eis totum reddetur.

" (IV.) Episcopi autem per litteras suas in singulis paro- " chiis episcopatuum suorum facient nunciari, et in die " Natalis, et Sancti Stephani, et Sancti Johannis, ut unus- " quisque decimam prætaxatam infra Purificationem Beatæ " Virginis penes se colligat, sequenti die et deinceps, illis " præsentibus qui dicti sunt, ad locum quo vocatus fuerit, " unusquisque persolvat.

Hoveden, 365. b. 40. Gervase, 1522. " (I.) Præterea statutum est a Romano pontifice,[1] quod Further ordinances relative to the crusade.
" quicumque clericus vel laicus crucem susceperit, ab om- " nibus peccatis de quibus pœnituerit et confessus fuerit, " auctoritate Dei, et beatorum apostolorum Suorum Petri et " Pauli, liberatus est et absolutus.

" (II.) Dispositum est autem a regibus et archiepiscopis et " episcopis, et aliis principibus terræ, quod omnes illi tam " clerici quam laici, qui hoc iter non arripient, decimas red- " dituum, et mobilium suorum hujus anni, et omnium catal- " lorum suorum tam in auro quam in argento et omnibus " aliis dabunt, exceptis vestibus et libris et vestimentis cleri- " corum et capellanorum, et lapidibus pretiosis tam clericorum

[1] These statutes are given by Gervase in his account of the Council of Geddington; see also Newburgh, iii. 23.

A.D. 1188. January. Ordinances of the crusade.

"quam laicorum, et exceptis equis, et armis, et vestibus mili- Hoveden, 365. b. 49.
"tum ad usum proprii corporis pertinentibus. Gervase, 1522.
"(III.) Dispositum est etiam quod omnes clerici, milites et "servientes qui hoc iter arripient, decimas terrarum suarum "et hominum suorum habeant, et pro se nihil dabunt.

"(IV.) Burgenses vero et rustici, qui sine licentia crucem "acceperint, nihilominus decimas dabunt.

"(V.) Dispositum est etiam quod nullus enormiter juret, "et quod nullus ludat ad aleas vel ad decios, et quod nullus "post proximum Pascha utatur verio, vel grisio, vel sabe-"lina, vel escarleta; et quod omnes contenti sint duobus "ferculis ex empto. Et quod nullus aliquam mulierem secum

fo. 128 r°.

"ducat in peregrinatione, nisi aliquam forte lotricem peditem "de qua nulla habeatur suspicio. Et quod nullus habeat "pannos decisos vel laceatos.

"(VI.) Dispositum est etiam quod quicumque clericus vel "laicus redditus suos ante susceptionem crucis invadiaverit, "exitus hujus anni integre habeat, et transacto anno cre-"ditor rehabeat. Ita quod fructus quos inde perceperit in "solutione debiti computentur, et debitum post susceptionem "crucis, quamdiu debitor erit in peregrinatione, non usuret.

"(VII.) Statutum est etiam, quod omnes clerici et laici, "qui in hac peregrinatione proficiscentur, possunt licite in-"vadiare redditus suos, sive ecclesiasticos sive alios, a Pascha "cum iter arripuerint usque ad tres annos; ita quod credi-"tores quicquid de creditoribus contingat, fructus omnes "reddituum quos in vadio habebunt, a prædicto Pascha usque "ad tres annos integre percipiant.

"(VIII.) Dispositum est etiam, quod quicunque in peregri-"natione decesserit, pecuniam suam quam secum in peregri-"natione attulerit, ad sustentationem servientium suorum, et "ad auxilium terræ Jerusalem, et ad sustentationem paupe-"rum dividet, juxta consilium discretorum virorum qui ad "hoc constituentur."

Measures for collecting the tithe.

His igitur præordinatis, elegit viros ecclesiasticos et Hoveden, 366. a. 20.
alios, quos constituit per terras suas transmarinas ad supradictas decimas sibi colligendas, de omnibus tam clericis quam laicis qui crucem non acceperint.

Eagerness of men to take the cross.

Unde factum est, quod omnes ditiores terrarum suarum, tam clerici quam laici, catervatim ruebant ad crucem capiendam.

Henry goes to Dieppe, Jan. 29.

Et sic peractis negotiis suis in terris suis transmarinis, fecit naves suas congregari apud Depam; et ipse illuc adveniens cum familia sua, mare intravit,

Hoveden, 366. a. 23.

A.D. 1188. Jan. 30. Henry lands at Winchelsea.

et in crastino applicuit in Anglia apud Wenchelese, Sabbato, tertio kalendas Februarii.

Hoveden, 366. a. 24.

Consecration of Hugh of Nunant, Jan. 31.

Interim Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, qui ante regis adventum in Angliam venerat, adducens secum Hugonem de Nunant, electum Cestrensis ecclesiæ, consecravit eum in episcopum Cestrensem sive Coventrensem.[1]

Hoveden, 366. a. 25.

Council of Geddington. (Feb. 11.)

Rex vero statim postquam applicuit, convocatis archiepiscopo et episcopis et comitibus, et baronibus regni Angliæ, venit usque ad Gaidington,[2] ubi in publica audientia fecit recitari omnia suprascripta capitula quæ constituerat de cruce capienda. Quibus recitatis, Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et Gillebertus Rovensis episcopus, vicarius ejus, mirifice prædicaverunt illo die coram rege et principibus suis verbum Dei et salutiferæ Crucis mysterium. Per illorum vero prædicationem multi tam clerici quam laici crucem acceperunt. Et rex consilio fidelium suorum elegit clericos et laicos de quorum prudentia confidebat, et misit eos per singulos comitatus, ad decimas colligendas secundum prædictam præordinationem in terris suis transmarinis constitutam. Sed de singulis urbibus totius Angliæ fecit eligere omnes ditiores, scilicet de Lundonia CC., et de Eboraco C., et de aliis urbibus secundum numerum et quantitatem eorum; et fecit omnes sibi præsentari diebus et locis statutis. De quibus cepit decimam reddituum et mobilium suorum secundum æstimationem virorum fidelium qui redditus et mobilia eorum noverant. Si quos autem invenisset rebelles, statim fecit eos incarcerari, et in vinculis teneri, donec ultimum quadrantem persolverent. Similiter fecit de Judæis terræ suæ, unde inæstimabilem sibi adquisivit pecuniam.

Archbishop Baldwin preaches the crusade.

The king directs the collection of the tithe, and makes the assessment.

fo. 128 vo.

[1] January 31, at Lambeth. Gerv. 1520.

[2] *Gaidington*] Gaidigocm, B. This council at Geddington was held on the 11th of February. Gervase, 1522, &c.; Epp. Cantuar. 166.

A.D. 1188.

Insurrection against Richard in Poictou.

Hoveden, 366. a. 48, very briefly.

Interim Armarus[1] comes de Engolismo, et Gaufridus de Rancona,[2] et Gaufridus de Lezinnan,[3] et multi alii de terra comitis Ricardi Pictavenses, insurrexerunt in eum, et terras ejus destruxerunt. At ille hæc contra terras illorum fortiter invasit, et castella et munitiones obsedit, cepit et infregit, villas combussit et prædas abduxit, arbores fructiferas exstirpavit; et hæc et his similia in illos exercere non cessavit donec omnes suæ voluntati subjectos esse coegisset.

He devastates the country.

The count of Toulouse captures some Poictevin merchants.

Hoveden, 366. a. 53, very briefly.

Dum hæc in Pictavia fierent, Ramundus comes de Sancto Ægidio cepit quosdam mercatores de terra comitis Ricardi Pictavensis, transeuntes per terram suam, de quibus plures privavit oculis et testiculis; quosdam vero illorum interfecit, et quosdam illorum incarceravit. Quod cum Ricardo comiti innotuit, magno exercitu congregato, invasit terram prædicti comitis de Sancto Ægidio, in manu potenti et brachio extento, et multa mala fecit ei et terræ suæ. Homines namque illius cepit et interfecit; et quosdam illorum incarceravit, inter quos fuit quidam familiaris prædicti comitis de Sancto Ægidio quem nominabant Petrum Seilun; per cujus consilium præfatus comes de Sancto Ægidio prænominatos mercatores ceperat, et magna damna sæpius fecerat comiti Ricardo. Hunc igitur comes Ricardus in arctiori loco et duriori fecit custodiri. Quem cum comes de Sancto Ægidio nullatenus redimere potuit, insidiabatur comiti Ricardo et suis. Unde factum est

Richard captures Peter Seilun, a minister of the count.

[1] Aimar succeeded his brother Wulgrin Taillefer III., in a portion of the county in 1181, in opposition to the will of Richard, who supported the rights of Matilda, daughter of Wulgrin Taillefer, both in Angoumois and La Marche.

[2] Lord of Pons in Saintonge. See vol. i. p. 213.

[3] Geoffrey of Lusignan, the brother of Guy king of Jerusalem. His part in the struggle must have been soon over, as he joined his brother in Palestine in the course of the summer. Itiner. R. Ricardi, p. 26. Geoffrey was supported by Henry II. in his opposition to Richard, according to R. de Diceto, c. 639.

Hoveden, 366. b. 1. very briefly.

A.D. 1189.

The count arrests two English knights returning from Compostella.

quod prædictus comes de Sancto Ægidio custodes suos posuit per civitates et castella ad comprehendendum si quos invenirent de familia regis Angliæ vel Ricardi filii sui comitis. Et factum est post paucos dies quod duo milites de domo et familia regis Angliæ, quorum nomina sunt hæc, Robertus Puer et Radulfus Fraser, transitum facerent per terram comitis de Sancto Ægidio, redeuntes de Sancto Jacobo, quem causa peregrinationis visitaverant, et transissent per Tolosam; exploratores comitis injecerunt manus in eos et tenuerunt, et vinctos duxerunt ad illum, et ipse incarcerari fecit. Post multum vero temporis prædictus comes posuit cum eis rationem dicens, "Si comes Pictavensis "servientem meum quem in vinculis tenet liberum et "illæsum abire permitteret, permitterem ego et vos "liberos et illæsos abire." Unde factum est quod unus ex illis, scilicet Radulfus Fraser, permissus exire ad comitem Ricardum Pictavensem propter suam et prædicti servientis comitis de Sancto Ægidio liberationem. Sed comes Ricardus audiens quod ipsi redeuntes de Sancto Jacobo, in peregrinatione capti essent, respondit illi, quod per illum nec prece nec pretio liberarentur. Dicebat enim quod ipse magis offenderet Deum et beatum apostolum suum Jacobum quam pateretur, si ipse pro eis dedisset redemptionem, quia sola peregrinationis reverentia sufficiebat ad liberandum eos. Et cum illi alium responsum ab eo habere non potuissent, abierunt ad regem Franciæ, qui ad partes illas accesserat pro pace facienda inter comitem Ricardum et comitem de Sancto Ægidio. Et narraverunt ei omnia quæ illis acciderant, et quomodo capti fuerant et retenti in via peregrinationis suæ. Quo audito, rex Franciæ præcepit prædicto comiti de Sancto Ægidio dimittere peregrinos illos abire, non propter regis Angliæ, vel Ricardi comitis filii sui amorem; sed propter beati apostoli Jacobi reverentiam et dilectionem.

Ralph Fraser suffered to go to Richard to treat of ransom; Richard refuses.

fo. 129 r°.

The king of France orders the count of Toulouse to release the knights.

Respondit autem comes de Sancto Ægidio, quod nec

A.D. 1188. The count refuses.

prece nec pretio illos dimitteret, nisi comes Ricardus dimisisset ei servientem suum. Tunc rex Franciæ videns quod nullam inter prædictos comites pacem vel concordiam facere posset, dimisit eos, ira et odio mortali inflammatos; et reversus est in Franciam.

June. Richard invades the county of Toulouse (after June 5, *Rigord*, 184).

Hoveden, 366. b. 15.

Comes vero Pictavensis, magno congregato exercitu, intravit terram comitis de Sancto Ægidio, et eam devastavit in combustione ignis et hominum interfectione. Et castella ipsius prope Tolosam obsedit, et cepit. Audiens igitur Philippus rex Franciæ gemitus populi Tolosani, et clamores comitis de Sancto Ægidio, tactus ira et indignatione intrinsecus, nuncios suos misit in Angliam ad Henricum regem, significans ei excessus et gravamina quæ faciebat illi et genti suæ comes Ricardus filius ejus, et petiit ab eo sibi fieri ab eo emendationem. Rex vero Angliæ respondit illis qui missi fuerant, quod Ricardus filius suus nihil horum fecerat per consilium et voluntatem ipsius, et quod ipse eum justificare non potuit. His auditis nuncii regis Franciæ quos ipse in Angliam miserat, redierunt ad eum exponentes ei omnia quæ audierant et viderant.

Philip complains to Henry of the conduct of Richard.

The patriarch of Antioch writes to Henry II.

Hoveden, 366. b. 22, shorter.

Interim patriarcha Antiochiæ videns Christianorum persecutionem, quam permisit Deus, peccatis nostris exigentibus, fieri in terra Jerusalem et in provinciis adjacentibus, timuit sibi et nobili civitati Antiochiæ. Et mittens nuncios suos per universos Christianorum principes, Henrico regi Angliæ, filio Matildis imperatricis, scripsit in hac forma.

"*Epistola patriarchæ de Antiochia ad regem Angliæ.*

A.D. 1187. September or October.

Hoveden, 366. b. 28.

"Ha.,[1] Dei gratia sanctæ[2] et apostolicæ sedis Antiochiæ pa-
"triarcha, Henrico, per eandem gratiam Anglorum illustris-

[1] *Ha.*] Aimeric, patriarch, 1142–1187. This letter must have been written during the siege of Jerusalem, Sept. 20–Oct. 3.

[2] *sanctæ*] om. B.

Hoveden, 366. b. 28.

"simo regi, dilecto domino et amico, in Illo per Quem "reges regnant. A.D. 1187. September or October.

"Condignum et inæstimabilem dolorem nostrum pro inspe- "rato et terribili quod nobis, immo toti Christianitati nuper "accidit, infortunio, cum lacrymis et singultibus excellentiæ "vestræ per hæc præsentia denunciamus. Audiat vobiscum "omne sæculum dolorem nostrum, ut sciat unde veniat, aut "quo tendat luctus noster et nostra lamentatio. Quarto die "mensis Julii, anno Incarnati Verbi millesimo centesimo "octogesimo septimo, Saladinus, collecta hostium peregrina "multitudine, prælium commisit cum iis qui erant in terra "Jerusalem Christianis, et fusis eorum copiis, de ipsis pro "velle suo triumphavit, vivifica cruce ludibrio Turcorum ex- "posita, capto rege cum fratre suo stabulario[1] et magistro "Templi, Raimundo quondam[2] principe propriis manibus "nefandi Saladini interfecto: et episcopis, cum Templariis et "Hospitalariis, et cum omni fere multitudine,[3] militum MCC. et "peditum triginta millibus, in tuitione Sanctæ Crucis gladiis "jugulatis, excepta multitudine copiosa quæ postea in urbibus "quas cepit, est interempta vel captivata. Satiatus denique san- "guine Christianorum, Tiberiadem cepit et munivit: deinde "civitatem nobilem Accaron, Caiphas, Cæsaream, Jopen, Naza- "reth, Sebasten, Neapolim, Lidden, Ramatham, Arsur, Ebron, "Bethleem, et nunc demum sanctam civitatem Jerusalem, "et sepulcrum Domini obsedit, jurans quod ipsum frustatim "comminuet, et minutias ejus in profundum maris projiciet. "Pro residuis formidolosa nos hæsitatio detinet, ignorantes "diem et horam in qua subjiciamur, ditioni ejus, et habitatores "earum vel captiventur, vel occidantur, maxime cum victuali- "bus et equitaturis et armis bellicis et defensoribus constet "esse spoliatos.

The patriarch tells the king of the sad event of the battle of Hittin.

fo. 120 v°.

The capture of the strongholds, and siege of Jerusalem.

"Pro hac tanta ira et indignatione Dei in nos effusa "desuper, panem nostrum cum lacrymis manducamus, et tur- "bamur terrore horribili, ne sepulcrum Dominicum exteris "tradatur nationibus, ne pauci, qui remansimus in terra "Christiana, si tardaverit succursus, urgentibus[4] inimicis,

Fears of the patriarch.

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[1] *stabulario*] Amalric of Lusignan, constable of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and afterwards king of Cyprus.

[2] *quondam*] quoque, Hoveden. "Quondam" is right, as it refers to the fact that Reginald of Châtillon had been formerly prince of Antioch as husband of Constance, the heiress. Of course Raimundo is the old mistake for Reginaldo. Raymond of Poictiers was Constance's first husband.

[3] *multitudine*] om. B.

[4] *urgentibus*] om. B.

A.D. 1187. September or October. He entreats Henry for especial aid.

"nostras cervices gladiis ferientium supponamus. Et quoniam prudentia et opinione et divitiis cæteris regibus Occidentalibus præeminetis; cujus auxilium semper exspectavimus: precamur ut Terræ Sanctæ potenti festinanter succurratis auxilio. Et si tardaveritis, sepulcrum Dominicum cum Antiochia nobili civitate, et terra sibi adjacenti, in opprobrium sempiternum exteris subjacebit nationibus. Mementote laudis et nominis vestri, ut Deus, Qui vos sublimavit in regnum, per vos exaltetur. Et si huic tam digno operi volueritis manum apponere, ut veniatis, vel optatum nobis mittatis succursum; totius Sanctæ Terræ liberatio vobis post Deum imputabitur: et nos ipsi, in quantum possumus, lugentes, et rea pectora nostra percutientes, ad Deum clamamus ut Ipse donet[1] vobis et velle et posse, id ipsum sic perficiendi ad laudem[2] et gloriam Sui nominis; quatenus in hoc mortis articulo Terræ Sanctæ et nobis succurratis clementer. Alioquin nobis, qui variis[3] subjacentes periculis diutino languore succumbimus, jam necesse erit exspirare, et fuso sanguine Christianorum, Dominicum sepulcrum, et Antiochiam nobilem civitatem cum terra sibi adjacenti, in opprobrium sempiternum exteris nationibus subjacere. Rogamus præterea, ut dilectos fratres Gabilonensem et Valeniensem episcopos, quos pro hoc ipso ad vos mandavimus, commendatos habeatis. Valete." Hoveden, 366. b. 53.

A.D. 1188. fo. 130 r°. Henry II.'s answer to the patriarch of Antioch.

"*Epistola regis Angliæ ad patriarcham.*

"Venerabilibus in Christo patribus et amicis A. et Heraclio, Dei gratia, Antiochiæ et Jerusalem patriarchis, et [4] principi Antiochiæ, et universo populo Christiano Orientalis ecclesiæ, Henricus eadem gratia rex Anglorum, et dux Normannorum et Aquitannorum, et comes Andegavorum, salutem et consolationem in Christo. Quoniam peccatis nostris exigentibus, visitavit Dominus temporibus nostris in virga furoris Sui iniquitates nostras, et terram redemptam sanguine Divino permisit Judæorum manibus pollui perfidorum; ideo dignum est ut nos et cuncti qui Christianæ sunt religionis, et ejusdem nominis professores, ad desolationem præfatæ terræ pietatis studio convertamur, et auxilium ac consilium studeamus totis viribus impartiri. Cum igitur Hoveden, 367. a. 20.

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[1] *Ipse donet*] om. B.
[2] *laudem*] salutem, B.
[3] *variis*] om. B.
[4] Bohemond III., son of Constance and Raymond of Poictiers, consequently first cousin once removed to Henry II. He reigned from 1163–1201.

Hoveden, 367. a. 28. "venisset ad nos A. Dei gratia venerabilis Valeniensis[1] episcopus, et dolores et calamitates quibus Orientalis ecclesia premitur profusis lacrymis et profundis suspiriis indicasset, quanta graviora videmus instare pericula, tanto fortius ac celerius ad maturum subsidium compassio nos accingit. Habentes itaque in Eo spem et fiduciam, Qui in Se sperantes nullatenus derelinquit, viriliter agite, et confortetur in

A.D. 1188. He has received the sad news, and encourages the patriarch with hopes of assistance.

Ps. xxvii. 14. "Domino cor vestrum, quoniam illud credimus Ysaiæ vati-

Isa. lx. 4, 5. "cinium jam impletum, 'Jerusalem, leva in circuitu oculos 'tuos et vide; omnes isti congregati venerunt tibi. Tunc 'videbis et afflues; et mirabitur, et dilatabitur cor tuum, 'quando conversa fuerit ad te multitudo maris, fortitudo 'gentium venerit tibi.' Nunc autem Dominus, Qui respicit super filios hominum, ut videat si est intelligens aut re-

Ps. xiv. 3. "quirens Deum, sic Christianorum hactenus sopitos ad servitium Suum excitavit affectus, ut unusquisque qui Domini

Exod. xxxii. 27. "est, gladium suum jam posuerit super femur suum, et beatum se quisque reputat et fidelem qui patrem et matrem et omnia dereliquerit, ut possit Christo et Terræ Sanctæ illatas injurias vindicare. Constantes igitur estote, et in promptu videbitis auxilium vobis a Domino præparatum. Citius enim quam credatis tanta vobis per terram et per mare in auxilium fidelis populi superveniet multitudo, quan-

He promises speedy aid.

1 Cor. ii. 9. "tam nec oculus vidit nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit; quam quidem Dominus ad terræ vestræ præsidium præparavit. Inter cæteros autem principes ego et filius meus, rejecta hujus mundi gloria, et spretis voluptatibus universis, omnibusque quæ mundi sunt, postpositis, in personis propriis totis viribus vos cito, auctore Domino, visitabimus. Valete."

He himself and Richard have taken the cross.

Hoveden, 367. a. 48, shorter. Dum hæc fierent, Philippus rex Franciæ, magno congregato exercitu, intravit Berriam, terram regis Angliæ de patrimonio reginæ Alienor uxoris suæ, et cepit Castrum Radulfi[2] quod burgenses reddiderunt ei. Et inde procedens, reddita est illi fere tota Berria exceptis Luchis, et cæteris dominicis castellis regis Angliæ. Buchardus[3] vero de Vendomia timens adven-

June. Philip invades Berry, and takes Châteauroux, with all the other fortresses except Loches, and those in demesne.

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[1] *Valeniensis*] Valenia, now Banias, was a see in the province of Apamea, on the coast between Jebleh and Merkeb.

[2] Philip took Châteauroux, June 16. R. Diceto, 639.

[3] Buchard IV., eldest son of John, count of Vendome, succeeded his father in the county in 1192. It will be remembered that he took the side of the younger Henry in opposition to his father. See vol. i. p. 63.

A.D. 1188. June. Buchard of Vendome deserts to Philip.

Hoveden, 367. a. 51, shorter.

tum regis Franciæ in terram suam, reddidit se, et terram suam regi Franciæ, et ei adhæsit. Inquirenti igitur regi Anglorum cur hæc sibi fierent, nunciatum est ei quod rex Francorum hæc faciebat in vindictam injuriarum quas Ricardus comes Pictavensis sibi et comiti de Sancto Ægidio et terræ illius fecerat. Comes vero Ricardus mandavit per Johannem Cumin, Dublinensem archiepiscopum, regi Anglorum patri suo, quod ipse nihil mali fecerat in terra comitis de Sancto Ægidio nisi per licentiam regis Francorum, pro eo quod comes de Sancto Ægidio refutavit esse infra treugas et pacem quas rex Franciæ et ipse fecerant. Habito igitur consilio suorum fidelium, rex Angliæ misit Baldewinum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, et Hugonem Lincolniensem episcopum, ad regem Franciæ, ut saltem iram indignationis quam in animo adversus eum conceperat verbis et exhortationibus mitigarent. Sed cum proficere non potuissent, dominus rex misit Johannem filium suum in Normanniam, qui mare intravit apud Sorham, et applicuit in Normannia apud Depe. Et postea dominus rex Angliæ, in die Dominica, sexto idus Julii, naves ascendit apud Porteseie; et in crastino applicuit in Normannia apud Barbefluctum, et veniens inde usque Alenzun, congregavit exercitum magnum de Normannia. Comites vero et barones Angliæ secuti sunt eum, et multi Walenses, in Normanniam; quos Ranulfus de Glanvilla, justiciarius Angliæ, conduxerat ad opus regis.

fo. 130 vo.

Richard asserts that the king of France connived at the invasion of Toulouse.

Archbishop Baldwin sent to pacify Philip. (June 16. Gerv. 1535.) John follows.

The king himself crosses from Portsea to Barfleur. July 10.

Terric the Templar writes again to the king.

Hoveden, 368. a. 13.

Interim frater Terricus, magnus præceptor domus Templi Jerusalem, in hac forma scripsit domino regi Angliæ de statu terræ Jerusalem.

January. Jerusalem is taken.

"Domino Dei gratia regi Angliæ, duci Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, et comiti Andegaviæ, frater Terricus, quondam "magnus præceptor domus Templi Jerusalem, salutem in Eo "Qui dat salutem regibus.

"Sciatis quod Jerusalem cum arce David reddita est Saladino. Syrii autem habent custodiam usque ad quartum "diem post festum S. Michaelis; et ipse Saladinus in domo "Hospitalis permisit remanere decem de fratribus Hospitalis

Hoveden, 368. a. 22.

"ad custodiendum infirmos usque in unum annum. Fratres "vero Hospitalis de Belliverio[1] optime resistunt Saracenis "adhuc, et jam duas carrvanas Saracenorum expugnaverunt, "in quarum captione alterius, omnia arma et utensilia et vic-"tualia quæ erant in castro Fabæ, quod Saraceni destruxerant, "viriliter lucrati sunt. Adhuc etiam resistunt Saladino Grag-"cus Montis Regalis,[2] et Mons Regalis,[3] et Saphet Templi,[4] et "Gragchus[5] [Hospitalis],[6] et Margant, et castellum Blancum, "et terra Tripolis, et terra Antiochiæ. Capta autem Jero-"solima, Saladinus crucem de templo Domini deponi fecit, "et eam per duos dies per civitatem in ostentum fustigando "portari fecit. Deinde fecit templum Domini aqua rosata "intus et exterius, sursum et deorsum lavari, et legem suam "desuper illud per quatuor partes miro tumultu acclamari. "A festo vero S. Martini usque ad Circumcisionem Domini "obsedit Tyrum, tredecim perrariis, die noctuque, lapides in "eam incessanter jactantibus. In vigilia autem S. Sylvestri "dominus Conradus marchio milites et pedites per murum "civitatis disposuit, armatis septemdecim galeis et decem "aliis naviculis, cum auxilio domus Hospitalis et fratrum "Templi adversus galeas Saladini dimicavit, easque ex-"pugnans, undecim ex eis retinuit, et magnum Alexandriæ "admiraldum cum octo aliis admiraldis[7] cepit, Saracenorum "multitudine interfecta. Reliquæ vero galeæ Saladini Chris-"tianitatis manus evadentes, ad Saladinum et ad exercitum "ejus confugerunt, quibus præcepto illius in terram extractis, "ipse Saladinus, igne apposito, in cinerem fecit redigi et fa-"villam; nimioque dolore commotus, equi sui auriculas et "caudam amputans, equum illum per totum exercitum viden-"tibus omnibus equitavit."

A.D. 1188. January. The Hospitallers are still defending Belvoir; and Kerak, Montreal, Safet, Kerak of the Hospital, Margat, Castel Blanc, and Tripoli hold out.

Tyre was besieged from Nov. 11 to Jan. 1; but Conrad defeated Saladin at sea on Dec. 30.

fo. 131 r°.

Hoveden, 368. a. 43.

Eodem anno, Johannes Dunkeldensis episcopus, post Purificationem Beatæ Virginis Mariæ, rediit a curia domini papæ; Hugone episcopo Sancti Andreæ deposito. Unde dominus papa in hac forma scripsit.

February. John of Dunkeld brings letters from pope Clement III.

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[1] *Belliverio*] Belvoir or Kaukab, held out until January 1189.

[2] *Gragcus Montis Regalis*] Kerak, which held out until November 1188.

[3] *Mons Regalis*] Montreal or Shobek, held out until May 1189.

[4] *Saphet*] Safed held out until November 1188.

[5] *Gragchus Hospitalis*] Hesn-al-Akrad, and Margat (Merkeb), were not taken during this crusade.

[6] *Hospitalis*] om. B.

[7] *admiraldis*] amigdalis, B.

A.D. 1188. Jan. 16. The pope reminds the Scottish bishops that pope Urban III. had summoned bishop Hugh to the papal court, and he had refused to come.

Hoveden, 368. a. 49.

"Clemens episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus "fratribus Jocelino Glascuensi, et Mathæo Aberdenensi episcopis, et dilectis filiis Arnaldo[1] abbati de Melros, et Bertram priori de Coldingham,[2] salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ne in dubitationis recidant scrupulum quæ geruntur; dignum est litterarum memoriæ commendari, et ad illorum notitiam quorum interesse videtur, celebri ac veridica insinuatione perferri. Meminimus autem quod bonæ memoriæ Urbanus papa, prædecessor noster, Hugoni quondam dicto episcopo Sancti Andreæ, pro controversia quæ inter eum et venerabilem fratrem nostrum Johannem vertebatur, sub excommunicationis interpositione mandavit, ut ad certum diem responsurus in jure aspectui se apostolico præsentaret. Verum quia conscius actuum suorum, et

fo. 131 v°.

eventum judicii non immerito reformidans, venire contumaciter recusavit; nos pro hoc et pro aliis multis quæ crebrescente fama ecclesiæ Dei scandalum pepererunt, ipsum ab episcopatu Sancti Andreæ, de consilio et assensu fratrum, perpetuo judicavimus, apostolicæ sedis auctoritate, remotum: et ab usu episcopalis officii eo usque suspensum, donec apostolica sedes duxerit de ipso aliter statuendum, absolventes a fidelitate subditos, qua ei tenebantur astricti. Sane quia vacantes ecclesias diutius regimine pastorali carere sacrorum canonum inhibent sanctiones; discretioni vestræ per apostolica scripta mandantes,[3] quatenus dilectos filios nostros capitulum Sancti Andreæ ex parte nostra diligentius moneatis, ut sibi talem eligant episcopum et pastorem, qui digne possit episcopalis officii dignitate potiri. Specialiter autem eos, quantum vobis possibile fuerit, inducere laboretis, ut memoratum Johannem episcopum, virum bonæ opinionis, et pro sui honestate nobis et fratribus nostris acceptum, ad regimen et prælationem illius ecclesiæ sine cujusquam scrupulo difficultatis assumant. Quod si omnes his exsequendis nequiveritis interesse, duo vestrum ea nihilominus exsequantur. Datum Pisæ, xvii°. kalendas Februarii. Indictione sexta."

The pope deposes him from the see of S. Andrew's and all episcopal functions, and orders the chapter of S. Andrew's to make a new election, recommending bishop John.

"*Epistola Clementis papæ tertii ad Willelmum regem Scotorum.*

Jan. 16. The pope writes to the king of Scotland.

Hoveden, 368. b. 20.

"Clemens episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Willelmo illustri regi Scotorum, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Oculos Divinæ Majestatis offendere non modicum æstima-

[1] *Arnaldo*] Arnado, B.

[2] *Coldingham*] Colingham, B.

[3] *mandantes*] mandamus, Hoveden.

Hoveden, 368. b. 25.

" mus, si prælatorum excessus, quibus indulgere salva con- A.D. 1188. Jan. 16.
" scientia non possumus, per incuriam sine coercione debita
" relinquamus. Unde cum bonæ memoriæ Urbanus papa
" prædecessor noster, Hugoni quondam dicto episcopo Sancti
" Andreæ, per controversiam quæ inter eum et venerabilem
" fratrem nostrum Johannem episcopum vertebatur, sub ex-
" communicationis interpositione mandaverit, ut ad certum
" diem responsurus in jure conspectui se apostolico præsen-
" taret; et ipse conscius actuum suorum, et eventum judicii
" non immerito reformidans, ex contumacia venire contempsit:
" sed nos pro hoc et pro aliis multis, quæ crebescente fama
" ecclesiæ Dei scandalum pepererunt, ipsum ab episcopatu
" Sancti Andreæ, de consilio et assensu fratrum, perpetuo
" judicavimus, apostolicæ sedis auctoritate remotum; et ab
" usu episcopalis officii eo usque suspensum, donec apostolica
" sedes duxerit de ipso aliter statuendum, absolventes a fide-
" litate subjectos qua ei tenebantur astricti. Licet enim ad
" honorem et profectus tuos, quantum cum Deo possumus,
" firmum habemus propositum intendendi, et in facto præ-
" dicti Hugonis curia Romana non absque detractione mul-
" torum hactenus regiæ serenitati detulerit; quia tamen cla-
" mor ipsius ad nos indubitata fide pervenit, nequivimus errata
" sua ulterius sub dissimulatione clausis oculis præterire:
" propter quod [nihil] in hac parte credimus actum de quo
" debeat animus regius quacunque ratione moveri. Rogamus
" autem devotionem tuam prece et affectione qua possumus,
" et monemus in Domino, quatenus memoratum Johannem
" episcopum, quem nos et fratres nostri, pro sui honestate,
" sincero corde eligimus, pro reverentia apostolicæ sedis et
" nostra, in visceribus caritatis commendatum habeas et ac-
" ceptum: et remissa si qua fuerit conceptæ indignationis
" offensa, ipsum in omnibus regia clementia et benignitate
" pertractes. Credimus equidem quod de industria et pro-
" bitate ipsius, tibi et regno tuo, auctore Domino, multum
" accedere [poterit] incrementi; et nobis usque quam gratum
" existet, si optatum apud regias aures preces nostræ sor-
" tiantur effectum. Datum Pisæ, xvii°. kalendas Februarii,
" indictione sexta."

Bishop Hugh was summoned to the papal court by Urban III., and refused to come.

He is therefore deprived of his see, and suspended from episcopal functions.

The pope requests the king to receive bishop John.

Hoveden, 369. b. 50, rather longer.

His auditis, præfatus rex Scotorum, tandem suorum fretus consilio, Johannem Dunkeldensem episcopum recepit ea conditione, quod ipse Johannes quietum clamaret in perpetuum a calumnia sua, episcopatum Sancti Andreæ: et ita factum est ab eo, et in regis misericordia. Et Hugo denique, quondam episcopus

The king receives John on condition that he renounces S. Andrew's.

A.D. 1188. Bishop Hugh goes to Rome and is absolved, but dies there in August.

Sancti Andreæ, jam depositus et in sententia anathematis a summo pontifice revocatus, Romam absolvendus est profectus. Quo cum venisset, data cautione standi judicio ecclesiæ, meruit absolvi. Sed paucis supervixit diebus. Nam mense Augusti [1] in urbe Romulea tanta fiebat aeris corruptio, quod multi cardinales et ditiores urbis, cum innumera plebis multitudine interierunt; et ipse Hugo cum tota fere familia sua obiit. Hoveden, 370. a. 4.

Henry, elect of Dol, dies at Rome.

Eodem tempore obiit Romæ Henricus,[2] electus [Dolensis],[3] qui quondam fuerat decanus de Moretanea. Hoveden, 370. a. 8.

Henry II. sends to collect the Saladin tithe in Scotland.

Interim Henricus rex Angliæ misit Hugonem Dunelmensem episcopum, et quosdam alios familiares suos, tam clericos quam laicos, ad Willelmum regem Scotorum, ad decimas colligendas de terra sua. Ipse enim obtulerat domino suo regi Angliæ, antequam transfretaret, quatuor millia marcarum argenti pro castellis suis rehabendis. Cui rex Angliæ respondit, rem bene profecturam si concessisset ei decimam terræ suæ. Cujus petitionibus rex Scotiæ satisfacere cupiens, concessit ei decimam quam petebat, si homines suos ad hoc faciendum inducere posset. Cum igitur præfatus Dunelmensis episcopus, et cæteri domini regis Angliæ nuncii, venissent in Leoneis, ad locum qui dicitur Brigeam, ad loquendum cum rege Scotorum de decimis in terra sua colligendis, ipse rex Scotorum cum omnibus fere episcopis et comitibus et baronibus terræ suæ, et cum infinita hominum suorum multitudine, ad locum præfixum venerunt; et audita adventus nunciorum regis causa et eorum petitione, habito cum suis consilio, respondit, se non posse animos eorum inclinare ad decimam dandam. Et ipsi pro se responderunt se nunquam decimam daturos; nec etiam si rex Angliæ Hoveden, 366. a. 42, very briefly.

fo. 132 r°.

The bishop of Durham confers with the king of Scotland at Brigham, in Lothian.

The Scottish barons refuse to pay the tithe.

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[1] This was the plague in which prior Honorius of Canterbury, and the monks attached to his mission, cardinal Theobald of Ostia, and many others perished.

[2] Henry, son of Robert Fitz-Harding. Mon. Angl., vi. 365.

[3] *Dolensis*] supplied from Hoveden. See below, p. 60.

et dominus eorum rex Scotiæ juravissent se illam habituros, nunquam illam darent. Nuncii igitur regis Angliæ, qui ad hoc missi fuerant, videntes se in hac parte nihil posse proficere, licet nunc blandis, nunc asperis plurimum attentassent, in patriam suam reversi sunt, significantes domino suo regi Angliæ, qui tunc in Normannia erat, responsum regis Scotiæ et suorum. A.D. 1188. The English ambassadors return home.

Hoveden, 367. b. 6. Interim comes Pictavensis, magno congregato exercitu, profectus est Berriam; cujus adventu audito, Philippus rex Francorum tradidit Willelmo de Barres, militi suo, Castrum Radulfi custodiendum, et ipse reversus est in Franciam. Comes autem Ricardus terras comitum et baronum qui adhæserunt regi Franciæ destruxit, et multos illorum cepit. Rex autem Franciæ, audito regis Angliæ adventu, a Francia recedere non ausus erat, sed permisit exercitus suos devastare terras regis Angliæ. Unde factum est quod Philippus episcopus de Belvez,[1] consanguineus regis Franciæ, cum exercitu suo intravit Normanniam, et combussit Blanchi villam comitis de Auca, et Aubermalliam, castellum comitis Willelmi de Mandevilla, et alia castella et villas combussit, et homines multos interfecit, et prædas abduxit. Richard enters Berry, and Philip retires from it. The bishop of Beauvais invades Normandy, and burns Blangi and Aumâle.

Hoveden, 367. b. 15. Et ipse rex Franciæ cum exercitu magno intravit terras regis Angliæ, et combussit villam de Trou, et castellum totum, nec tamen illud capere potuit; sed quadraginta de militibus regis Angliæ cepit. Hæc contra, Ricardus comes Pictavensis cepit munitissimum locum qui vocatur Les Reches, ultra Treu versus Vindocinum, et cepit in illo loco xxv. milites et xl. servientes. Philip himself burns Trou. Richard takes Les Roches.

Hoveden, 367. b. 19. Henricus vero rex Angliæ, videns damnum et excessus quos Franciæ rex suis et sibi faciebat, misit ad eum Walterum Rothomagensem archiepiscopum, et Johannem Ebroicensem episcopum, et Willelmum Mares- Henry II. sends to Philip

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[1] *Belvez*] Philip, son of Robert I., count of Dreux, bishop 1180–1217.

A.D. 1188. to demand reparation; and threatens to renounce his fealty.

callum, et alios quosdam de familiaribus suis, petens ab eo sibi fieri restitutionem damni quod ipse et sui ei fecerant: et si hoc facere non quiesceret, mandavit ei, tanquam inimico mortali suo, quod amodo nullam ei servaret fidelitatem; sed in omnibus illum velut hostem suum vitaret, et damna pro posse suo sibi et terræ suæ inferret. His auditis, rex Franciæ respondit se a cœptis nolle desistere, donec tota Berria et totum Wougussin Normannicum sibi et imperio suo subjacerent. Hoveden, 367. b. 21.

Philip demands Berry and the Norman Vexin.

The ambassadors return.

Tunc nuncii regis Angliæ, qui ad regem Franciæ missi fuerant, intelligentes responsum regis Franciæ, a curia sua recesserunt, narrantes domino suo quæ audierant et viderant. fo. 133 v°.

August 30. Henry invades France, and advances to Mantes.

Nacta igitur occasione ex injuriis sibi a domino rege Franciæ illatis, Henricus rex Angliæ, magno congregato exercitu, ingressus est terram regis Franciæ, die Martis post Decollationem Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, et combussit plures villas, et equitavit die illo prope Mante, ubi rex Franciæ dicebatur esse. Et ibi congressi sunt Willelmus des Barres, et Drogo de Merlou,[1] cum paucis militibus Franciæ, cum Ricardo comite Pictavensi, et comite Willelmo de Mandavilla, et aliis de familiis regis Angliæ; ita quod Willelmus des Barres a comite Ricardo captus et per fidem positus fuit; sed [dum] milites regis Angliæ cæteris intenderent, prædictus Willelmus des Barres super unum runcinum pueri sui evasit. Hoveden, 367. b. 25.

William des Barres is taken by Richard, but escapes.

August 31. Henry stays at Yvri; Richard goes into Berry.

Die vero Mercurii sequenti, moram fecit rex Angliæ apud Yveru, et comes Ricardus profectus est in Berriam, promittens regi patri suo quod bene et fideliter ei serviret. Hoveden, 367. b. 33.

Sept. 1. Henry's Welsh troops burn Danville,

Die autem Jovis, in die Sancti Ægidii, Walenses regis Angliæ ipso nesciente, ingressi sunt in terram regis Franciæ, et combusserunt castellum Simonis de Hoveden, 367. b. 35.

[1] Drogo or Dreux IV. de Merlo, the crusader, made constable of France in 1204.

Hoveden, 367. b. 37. Aneth, scilicet Danevillam, et multas alias villas; et prædas abduxerunt; et nemini parcentes omnes interfecerunt quos invenerunt. A.D. 1188. Sept. 1. and other towns.

Hoveden, 367. b. 38. Eodem die comes Willelmus de Mandevilla combussit villam de Sancto Claro, quæ est de dominio regis Franciæ; et vastavit virgultum pulcherrimum quem ipse rex plantaverat. William of Mandeville burns S. Clair.

Hoveden, 367. b. 40. Eodem die rex Angliæ cum paucis militibus intravit terram regis Franciæ, ut infirmiora partium illarum exploraret. Ibique venerunt nuncii regis Franciæ, qui pacem rogabat, et offerebat ei terram quam super eum occupaverat in Berria. Deinde inter eos habito consilio apud Gisortium, cum inter illos de pace facienda non potuisset convenire, rex Franciæ in iram et indignationem commotus, succidit ulmum quandam pulcherrimam inter Gisortium et Trie, ubi colloquia haberi solebant inter reges Franciæ et duces Normanniæ.[1] Philip proposes peace. Conference at Gisors. Philip cuts down the great elm between Trie and Gisors.

Hoveden, 370. a. 23. Interim quoddam mirabile contigit in Anglia: in vigilia namque beati Laurentii martyris, feria tertia, circa horam diei nonam, apud villam de Dunstaple, aperti sunt cœli super eam, et multis tam clericis quam laicis videntibus apparuit crux quædam longa nimis et miræ magnitudinis. Et apparuit in ea Dominus noster Jesus Christus clavis confixus; et manus ejus extentæ erant in patibulo; et plagæ manuum et pedum et lateris Ejus erant sanguinolentæ, et sanguis defluebat, sed non in terram. Erat autem hæc apparitio continua ab hora diei nona usque in crepusculum. August 9. Wonderful appearances in the sky seen at Dunstable.

p. 33 above. Eodem anno Hugo de Nunant consecratus est episcopus Cestriæ, a Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo. Hugh of Nunant consecrated.

Hoveden, 370. a. 16. Et eodem anno quidam frater Templi Jerusalem, nomine Gilebertus de Hogestan,[2] quem dominus rex constituerat cum clericis suis ad decimas colligendas, Gilbert of Hoxton a Templar. fo. 133 r°.

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[1] R. Diceto gives the date of the conference "17 kal. Sept.," placing it before Henry's advance to Mantes.

[2] *Hogestan*] Ogerstan, Hoveden.

A.D. 1188. Is detected in the act of stealing the money raised for the crusade.

Hoveden, 370. a. 18, very briefly.

furatus est magnam denariorum partem, quos receperunt de decima. Cæteri autem mirabantur quod numerus denariorum decrescebat magis ac magis de die in diem; et murmur multus factus est inter eos; unusquisque enim illorum alterum habebat suspectum. Contigit autem quadam die dum computarent denarios quos receperant, prædictus Gilebertus magnam illarum partem, dum socii ejus alias intenderent, abscondit in sinu suo, et in manticis suis, quas latas, more gentis suæ, habebat. Nolens ergo Scrutator cordium Deus iniquitatem illius diutius sub velamento religionis celari, manifestavit cuidam illorum opera ejus, qui attentius considerabat quæ fiebant; [qui] dixit, "Dedecus est nobis quod numerus denariorum nostrorum ita decrescit "quotidie; et nescio per quem fieri possit nisi per "aliquem ex nobis; et scrutemur quis ille sit;" et omnes dictis illius præbent assensum. Frater autem Gilebertus conscius sibi obmutuit et "siluit a bonis, "et dolor suus renovatus est." Inceperunt ergo ab ipso qui consilium dederat scrutari; et procedentes in ordine, pervenerunt ad prædictum Gilebertum; qui iniquitatis suæ conscius, cecidit in faciem suam provolutus ad pedes eorum; et cognoscens furtum quod fecerat, protulit denarios et veniam postulavit. Indicaverunt ergo regi eventum rei, et licet ratione judicii exigente, suspendi in patibulo mereretur, tamen rex misertus illius eo quod familiaris ei exstiterat, tradidit eum magistro Templi[1] Lundoniarum, præcipiens ei quod secundum ordinis sui statuta eum tractaret. Quem suscipiens vinculis mancipavit et diversis pœnis afflixit. De diversitate autem pœnarum illarum,

Ps. xxxix. 3.

He is spared by the king, and punished by the master of the Temple.

"Quærite quos agitat ordinis illius labor."

The counts of Flanders and Blois

Hoveden, 367. b. 47.

Interim comes Flandriæ et comes Theobaldus, et cæteri comites et barones de regno Franciæ contra

[1] Geoffrey Fitz-Stephen. Mon. Angl. vi. 821.

Hoveden, 367. b. 48. quorum consilium rex Franciæ guerram fecerat, arma sua deposuerunt, dicentes se nunquam gestaturos contra Christianos donec redirent de peregrinatione Jerosolimitanæ profectionis. Tunc rex præfatus Franciæ auxilio suorum destitutus, petiit a rege Angliæ colloquium. A.D. 1188. refuse to bear arms until after the crusade.

Hoveden, 367. b. 51. Quo concesso, habuerunt colloquium apud Castellum, in crastino Sanctæ Fidis Virginis. Ubi cum modus pacis ordinaretur inter eos hoc modo, quod rex Franciæ resignare deberet regi Angliæ quicquid in terris suis occupaverat post captam treugam; et comes Ricardus similiter faceret comiti de Sancto Ægidio quicquid in terris [suis][1] occupaverat: rex Franciæ per ejus improbitatem petiit a rege Angliæ castrum de Pasci in obsidem. Et quia rex Angliæ hoc facere noluit, ab invicem discordes discesserunt. Oct. 7. Conference between Henry and Philip at Châtillon; ineffectual.

Hoveden, 368. a. 2. Rex vero Franciæ inde recedens cepit castrum de Palud; et transitum faciens per Castrum Radulfi, inde duxit ruttam Braibancenorum Teutonicam usque Biturum, promittens eis bene stipendia sua. Sed apud Biturum, injectis in eos manibus, abstulit eis omnes equos suos, et arma et pecuniam universam, et eos inermes et nudos ejecit. Comes autem Ricardus obtulit regi Franciæ venire in curiam suam, et judicio stare de iis quæ fiebant inter illum et comitem de Sancto Ægidio; ut sic fieret pax inter regem Franciæ et regem Angliæ patrem suum. Quod multum displicuit regi patri suo. Post illud autem colloquium, Neulom filius Ursonis de Freteval juravit regi Angliæ fidelitatem contra omnes homines et fidele servitium. Et rex Angliæ fecit ei cartam suam de honore de Lavardin et de Faia. Et ipse dedit regi filium suum obsidem, et alios multos filios propinquorum suorum. Philip takes Palluau, and withdraws his mercenaries from Châteauroux, and plunders them. fo. 133 vº. Richard offers to submit to the judgment of Philip. Nevelon of Freteval returns to Henry.

[1] *suis*] om. B. Hoveden has "quicquid super eum per guerram occu- " paverat."

A.D. 1188. Sept. 20. Beverley burnt.

Eodem anno, duodecimo kalendas Octobris, feria tertia, vigilia Sancti Mathæi, apostoli et evangelistæ, tota villa de Beverlaco, cum nobili ecclesia beati Johannis archiepiscopi, combusta est.

Similiter eodem anno multæ civitates et in Anglia et in Normannia combustæ sunt.

Henry, in hope of peace, disbands his mercenaries.

Interim rex Franciæ et rex Angliæ sæpius per internuncios suos de pace tractabant facienda, ita quod rex Angliæ sperans pacem in promptu[1] fieri, permisit solidarios suos et Walenses suos domum redire.

Nov. 18. Conference of the kings between Bonsmoulins and Soligny: ineffectual.

Interim rex Angliæ et rex Franciæ colloquium habuerunt de pace facienda inter se, inter Bons-Mulins et Sulennei, xiv°. kalendas Decembris, feria sexta: ubi rex Franciæ obtulit regi Angliæ quicquid ceperat de eo per guerram; tali conditione quod tradidisset Alais sororem suam comiti Ricardo filio suo in uxorem; et eidem Ricardo fieri fidelitates hominum regni Angliæ et aliarum terrarum suarum: sed inter eos convenire non potuit. (Hoveden, 370. a. 29.)

Richard does homage to Philip.

In eodem vero colloquio Ricardus comes Pictaviæ, sine consilio et voluntate patris sui regis Angliæ, devenit homo Philippi regis Franciæ, de Normannia, et Pictavia, et Andegavia, et Cenomannia, et Berria, et Tolosa, et de omnibus aliis feodis suis transmarinis: et ei fidelitatem juravit contra omnes homines, salva fidelitate quam debebat regi patri suo. Pro hac igitur fidelitate et homagio, Philippus rex Franciæ promisit ei se redditurum illi Castrum Radulfi, et omnia alia castella et terras, quas occupaverat in Berria; et reddidit ei Ysoudun cum toto honore, et omnia alia, tam homines quam terras quas occupaverat in aliis guerris, habitis inter ipsum et regem Angliæ. Præfati vero reges, scilicet rex Franciæ et rex Angliæ, statuerunt treugas usque festum Sancti Hilarii. (Hoveden, 370. a. 36, shorter.)

Philip promises to restore Châteauroux and Yssoudun. A truce concluded until Jan. 13.

Interim dominus papa Clemens, misertus calamitatis

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[1] *promptu*] pro, B.

A.D. 1188. Clement III. sends Henry, bishop of Albano, to make peace between Henry and Philip. fo. 134 r°.

terræ Jerosolimitanæ; et sciens quod nisi pax celerius fieret inter prædictos reges, iter Jerosolimitanæ profectionis, ad quod fere omnes reges et principes Occidentalis Christianitatis pro posse suo anhelabant, quam plurimum impediretur; Henricum Albanensem[1] episcopum cardinalem misit ad eos, ad pacem inter eos reformandam. Sed ipse ad neutrum illorum ante diem colloquii declinare voluit, ne suspectus hinc vel inde haberetur, sed in Flandriam perrexit ad Philippum comitem; et ibi moram fecit usque dum dies colloquii appropinquasset.

Hoveden, 370. a. 43.

Report of the French envoys at Constantinople.

Interim nuncii Philippi regis Franciæ, qui missi fuerant ad imperatorem Constantinopolitanum, qui vocabatur Ysakius, in hac forma scripserunt regi Franciæ:[2]

Affairs of the Holy Land.

Saladin's difficulties.

Hoveden, 370. a. 44.

Prophecy of the success of the crusade in 1190.

"Sciatis quod exercitus regis Saladini confectus est ante "Antiochiam; et Raimundus[3] princeps Antiochiæ currit sin-"gulis diebus ante Alepo. Margaritus[4] cepit Japham, et "omnes Turkos interfecit, qui erant in ea, scilicet quinque "millia, et octo admiratos cepit. Cepit etiam Gibeleth et "omnes occidit. Dominus Mullæ[5] major Saladino infestat "Saladinum; dominus etiam Meremdim,[6] Cilif[7] dominus de "Baldac, major omnibus Turcis, infestat Saladinum pro posse "suo. Sciatis etiam quod Soldanus Yconii maritavit filiam "suam filio Saladini, et Saladinus filiam suam filio Soldani. "Et bene notum est quod Kutepez[8] interfecit uxorem suam, "filiam Soldani. Est autem et indubitabilis, sicut dicunt "omnes, prophetia David[9] Constantinopolitani, quod eo anno "quo Annunciatio Domini in die Paschæ contingit, Franci "restaurabunt Terram Promissionis, et stabulabunt equos suos "in Palmaria de Baldac, et figent tentoria sua ultra arborem

[1] Henry, late abbot of Clairvaux. See vol. i. p. 238.

[2] This letter is given by R. de Diceto, c. 641. It is a second case in which Hoveden gives only an abstract of a document given in full in our chronicle.

[3] *Raimundus*] Bohemond III.

[4] Margarit, the admiral of William the Good. See Itiner. R. R., p. 27.

[5] *dominus Mullæ*] The sultan of Mosul, Azzeddin Masoud.

[6] *dominus etiam Meremdim*] Noureddin. Bohadin, *Vita Saladini*, 60.

[7] *Cilif*] The Caliph Nasr Zedinillah.

[8] *Kutepez*] Kothbeddin, son of Kilidg Arslan II., sultan of Iconium.

[9] *David*] Danielis, Diceto; Daniel, Hoveden.

A.D. 1188. Reports from Constantinople. "siccam, et lolium separabitur a tritico. Certissime quoque "noveritis quod vadum inventum est in Brachio Sancti Georgii. "Verum etiam nec celandum est quod Soldanus Yconii exosum "habet imperatorem Constantinopolitanum, quia non solvit "ex una parte quadringentas libras auri quas solebat ei sol-"vere singulis annis postquam fuit imperator; et ex alia "parte trecentas. Notate, fratres, verbum illud quod impera-"tor Constantinopolitanus quandoque nobis dixit, quod oculus "non fallitur. Turks captured at Tyre. Aliud vobis dicimus per gratiam Dei, quod tot "Turci capti sunt apud Sur, quod duo Turci vendebantur "pro uno bisantio. Saladinus dixit quandoque in tentorio "suo exthacio[1] Patricii et Baliani[2] qui habebat uxorem [regis] "Jerusalem, Treachery of the count of Tripoli and the emperor of Constantinople. quod comes Tripolitanus tradidit eis totam "Terram Promissionis. Et sciatis quod apud imperatorem Hoveden, 370. a. 49. "Constantinopolis plus honoris exhibetur nunciis Saladini in "palatio, quam omnibus aliis in summa dignitate locatis. "Saladinus etiam tradidit omnes ecclesias [Terræ] Promissionis "nunciis imperatoris Constantinopolitani, ut serviatur in eis "secundum consuetudinem Græcam. Non est fides in aliquo "Græco etiam si manu juraverit. Noveritis etiam quod do-"minus Saladinus, assensu imperatoris Constantinopolis, misit "Constantinopolim idolum suum, ut ibi publice adoretur: Saladin's idol has been taken at sea. sed "per gratiam Dei captum est in mari a Venetiensibus[3] et cum "ipsa navi ductum est Tyrum. Nunc autem de novo publica "fama est, quod exercitus Saladini confectus est ante Antio-"chiam. Verbum autem illud quod senex Græcus de Astralix "dixit domino Waltero Templario, unde cæteri Græci offensi "fuerunt, nunc implebitur, sicut dicunt: scilicet quod Latini "imperabunt et dominabuntur in civitate Constantinopoli; fo. 134 v°. Legend of the Golden Gate. "quia scriptum est in porta aurea, quæ non fuit aperta du-"centis annis[4] retro, 'Quando veniet rex flavus Occidentalis, "'ego per memet ipsum aperiar.' Asan has been poisoned. Sciatis quod Assen,[5] vir "illo probissimus, in veste imperiali toxicatus est. Isaac Angelus is in alliance with Saladin. Imperator "promisit Saladino centum galeas, et Saladinus dedit ei totam "Terram Promissionis, si imperator impedierit viam Fran-"corum. Verissime vobis dicimus, quod si aliquis accepit "crucem Constantinopoli, statim capitur et in carcerem mit-"titur. Hæc autem prophetia et astronomia Turcorum est,

[1] *exthacio*] Eustacio, Diceto.

[2] Balian II. of Ibelin, the second husband of Mary of Constantinople, widow of Amalric, king of Jerusalem.

[3] *Venetiensibus*] Januensibus, Diceto; venientibus, B.

[4] See Du Cange, *Constantinopolis Christiana*, p. 53.

[5] *Assen*] Asan, king of Bulgaria, 1180–1189.

Hoveden, 370. b. 7. "quod infra hoc triennium una pars Turcorum gladio peribit, A.D. 1188.
"altera fugiet ultra arborem siccam; tertia vero baptizabitur. Prophecies.
"Scimus autem quod Saladinus nullum Turcorum invenit "qui audeat ædificare in Terra Promissionis, vel familiam "suam inducere, pro timore venientium Francorum. Die vero[1] "qua lator præsentium recessit de Constantinopoli, venerunt "certi nuncii quod exercitus Saladini confectus est ante An- Report of Saladin's defeat. "tiochiam, et capti sunt frater Saladini et filius ejus. Ipsa "autem die qua lator præsentium recessit, præcepit imperator "eliminari omnes Latinos ab omni imperio suo. Et sciatis "quod per Dei gratiam, de terra Iconii sunt boni Erminii "centum[2] millia, et viginti quinque admirati, parati ire cum "Francis ad defensionem Christianitatis, et defensionem et "liberationem terræ, in qua natus et mortuus est Dominus "Jesus Christus."

His auditis Christiana plebs plurimum gaudebat, Prayers offered in London for the deliverance of Palestine. fiduciam habens in Domino quod avertet iram et indignationem Suam ab eis. Fiebat autem sine inter- Hoveden, 371. a. 22. missione oratio ab ecclesia ad Deum pro pace, et pro deliberatione terræ Jerusalem, et Christianorum captivorum qui in vinculis Saracenorum detinebantur. Fiebat autem singulis diebus in ecclesia Beati Petri[3] apud Lundonias; dicto a sacerdote, "Pax Domini sit semper "vobiscum," antequam "Agnus Dei" inciperetur, sacerdos vel cantor incepit antiphonam istam, 'Tua est "potentia, Tuum regnum, Domine, Tu es super omnes "gentes;" "da pacem in diebus nostris;" in die Dominica cum isto psalmo, "Quare fremuerunt gentes?" et in die Lunæ cum isto psalmo, "Deus, in Nomine "Tuo;" et in die Martis cum isto, "Deus repulisti;" et in die Mercurii cum isto, "Ut quid Deus repulisti?" et in die Jovis, "Deus, venerunt gentes;" et in die Veneris, "Deus, quis similis erit Tibi;" et in die Sabbati cum isto psalmo, "Deus ultionum Dominus." Dictis psalmo et antiphona prædicta, sequitur "Kyri-"eleison;" "Christeleison;" "Kyrieleison;" "Pater "noster;" "Et ne nos inducas;" "Ostende nobis,

[1] *Die vero*] Die dominica, Diceto.
[2] *centum*] quinque, Diceto.
[3] *Petri*] Pauli, Hoveden.

A.D. 1188. Prayers for the deliverance of Palestine. "Domine, misericordiam;" "Fiat misericordia Tua, "Domine, super nos;" "Domine, non secundum peccata nostra facias nobis;" "Ne memineris, Domine, "iniquitatum nostrarum antiquarum;" "Adjuva nos, "Deus Salutaris noster;" "Salvum fac populum Tuum, "Domine;" "Esto eis, Domine, Turris fortitudinis;" "Nihil proficiat inimicus in eis;" "Fiat pax in virtute "Tua;" "Domine, Deus virtutum, converte nos;" "Domine, exaudi orationem meam;" "Dominus vobiscum." Hoveden, 371. a. 34.

COLLECTA.

"Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, in Cujus manu sunt Hoveden, 371. a. 38.
fo. 135 r°. "omnium potestates et omnia jura regnorum, respice "ad Christianorum benignus auxilium, ut gentes quæ "in sua feritate confidunt potentiæ Tuæ dextera comprimantur, per Christum Dominum nostrum."

Margarit the Sicilian admiral shuts the Saracens in Acre, from the sea. Eodem vero anno quidam vir potens et terra et mari, natione Sigulus,[1] nomine Margaritus, per auxilium domini sui Willelmi regis Siciliæ, profectus cum quingentis galeis bene munitis, et viris bellicosis, et victu et armis, in auxilium Christianorum, et vias maris tanta calliditate obstruxit, quod Sarracenis qui Acram civitatem et cæteras terræ Jerusalem civitates et munitiones circa maritima occupaverant nullus securus patebat egressus. Contigit autem quadam die quod dum milites et servientes Saladini veherent arma per mare, et victualia ad subvectionem filii Saladini et familiæ suæ qui erant apud Acram, occurrit eis prædictus Margaritus cum suis; et commisso cum eis prælio, illos devicit et omnes interfecit.

Saladin besieges Antioch, Interim Saladinus, magno congregato exercitu, profectus in provinciam Antiochiæ, et multa castella et munitiones in ea cepit, et Christianos interfecit. Deinde

[1] *Sigulus*] Siculus.

A.D. 1188. October.

obsedit civitatem Antiochiæ; et qui intus erant in primis viriliter resistebant; sed postmodum deficiente eis victu, coacti sunt treugas a Saladino petere: et datæ sunt eis treugæ a mense Octobri usque ad quartum decimum[1] mensem proximo subsequentem; ita quod si infra illud spatium non habuerint succursum, redderent Saladino civitatem Antiochiæ, et omnes munitiones ejus; salvis vita et membris.

but makes a truce with the inhabitants.

Hoveden, 370. b. 10.

Prophetic dream of a certain abbot.

Interim quidam vir religionis, abbas vero magnæ auctoritatis, erat in transmarinis partibus, spiritum prophetiæ habens in multis; qui quotidie in orationibus suis postulabat Dominum Jesum Christum ut ostendere ei dignaretur ad quem exitum rex Angliæ deveniret de guerra, quæ fuit inter illum et regem Franciæ; sequenti autem nocte cum prædictus abbas in lecto suo quiesceret, media nocte jam præterita, apparuit ei in somnis quidam vir religiosus, abbas indutus vestibus albis; et ait illi, "Vide, lege hæc de rege: 'Le-" 'vavi signum meum super eum; venter uxoris suæ " 'intumescet contra eum; et in tormento tormentum " 'patietur, et inter velatas velabitur.'" His dictis, evanuit ab oculis ejus. Et abbas ille expergefactus, audita memoriæ commendabat, considerans eventum rei.

Death of Henry of Albano.

Interim Henricus Albanensis episcopus cardinalis obiit[2] in Francia.

The emperor Frederick makes preparations for his crusade.

Audiens itaque Fredericus Romanorum imperator quod nobilis civitas Antiochiæ reddita erat Saladino nisi habuerit celerem succursum; Divina inspirante gratia, ad succurrendum illi totis viribus anhelabat.

Hoveden, 370. b. 16, shorter.

Et sicut virum prudentem et circumspectum decebat, satis provide sibi et itineri suo necessaria præparabat. Inprimis enim reconciliavit se Deo et ecclesiæ, et

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[1] *quartum decimum*] The truce was for seven months according to Bohadin, 86; from October to May 1189 according to the statement made above, p. 24.

[2] The cardinal died at Arras in July. See below, p. 56; Jan. 1, Alb. Trois Font., p. 380.

A.D. 1189. He summons his forces to Regensburg before S. George's day. (April 23, 1189.)

Clementi summo pontifici; et omnes homines suos, scilicet Romanos, Longobardos, Burgundos, Teutonicos, Alemannos, Bauderos, Suavos, Saxones, Alpinos, Ruthones, Tuscos, et alias nationes imperio Romano subjectas pacificavit, et eos sibi et imperio Romano pacem servaturos jurare fecit. Deinde elegit sibi viros sapientes et in armis militaribus doctos, et sæpius expertos, de omnibus terris suis quos novit probiores; et adduxit eos secum ad destruendum inimicos Crucis Christi. Et statuit eis terminum conveniendi in unum, apud Ravinsburg,[1] ante festum Sancti Georgii, ita quod parati essent illo die iter Jerosolimitanæ profectionis arripere: et sic unusquisque ad sua reversus est ad præparandum sibi necessaria. Quos autem habebat suspectos, et qui cum illo ire nolebant, misit in
fo. 135 v°. exilium; et jurare fecit illos quod non redirent in terram suam antequam anni proximo sequentes præterirent. Unde factum est quod Henricus dux Saxoniæ nepos suus, qui Matildam filiam Henrici regis Angliæ in uxorem duxerat, missus est in exilium; sacramento præstito quod non esset rediturus in terram suam infra prædictum terminum.

He sends Henry the Lion into exile.

He asks the emperor of Constantinople for a passage through his dominions, and makes his son regent.

Deinde idem imperator misit nuncios suos ad Isakium imperatorem Constantinopolitanum, ad habendum salvum conductum transeundi per terram suam; et alios præmisit nuncios qui præpararent sibi et exercitui suo necessaria in omni loco quo erat ipse venturus.

Deinde tradidit Henrico filio suo, regi Alemanniæ, imperium suum et omnes alias terras suas custodiendas. Hoveden, 371. a. 9.

Death of Henry of Albano.

Eodem anno obiit Henricus Cardinalis[2] quondam abbas Clarevallis, apud Arraz in Flandria, et ibi sepultus est.

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[1] Frederick's army assembled at Regensburg, Mar. 24, and marched on May 11, 1189. Ausbert, p. 21.

[2] See above, p. 55.

Epistola Clementis papæ ad Henricum regem Angliæ pro Johanne episcopo Sancti Andreæ de Scotia.

A.D. 1188. Jan. 16.

Hoveden, 368. b. 51.

Clement III. requests Henry II. to compel William the Lion to submit to the decision of the Holy See as to the bishop of S. Andrews.

" Clemens episcopus, servus servorum Dei, illustri regi " Angliæ, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum ab " apostolica sede preces suscepit regalis excellentiæ auctoritas " et potestas, [quas ecclesiis] in suo statu servandis, et multorum saluti expedit effectui mancipare; diligenter eas debet regia sublimitas exaudire, et tanto fortius et ferventius " intendere, ut effectum consequantur optatum, quanto certius " fuerit quod earum devota susceptio et diligens executio re- " galem [gloriam] respicit pariter et salutem. Hinc est quod " serenitati vestræ, pro venerabili fratre nostro episcopo Sancti " Andreæ, litteras apostolicas et preces duximus cum fiducia " destinandas, altitudinem regalis eminentiæ quanta possumus " affectione rogantes, monentes, atque in remissionem peccatorum omnium injungentes, quatenus pro reverentia beati " Petri et nostra, et persecutionis ejus obtentu, quam certum " est ipsum jam longo tempore pertulisse, carissimum in " Christo filium nostrum Willelmum, illustrem regem Scotiæ, " moneas attentius et inducas, et si necesse fuerit, districtione regali qua ei præemines, et concessa tuæ regiæ celsitudini potestate compellas, ut totius indignationis suæ rancorem, quam circa episcopum ipsum concepit, quorundam " malitia susurronum, regiam dignitatem et salubria opera " pietatis attendens, ei qualibet occasione remota condonet, " et diocesim Sancti Andreæ, quam de communi fratrum consilio et assensu, summus pontifex sibi perpetuo confirmavit, " de cætero ipsum quiete permittat, et absque calumnia possidere; cum et ipse paratus existat regiæ majestati, prout " fuerit consentaneum rationi, existere in omnibus obediens " et fidelis. Valete."[1]

" *Epistola domini papæ Clementis, universo clero episcopatus Sancti Andreæ in Scotia, pro Johanne episcopo.*

Hoveden, 369. a. 21.

Jan. 16. Clement III. writes to the clergy of S. Andrews.

" Clemens episcopus, servus servorum Dei, universo clero " episcopatus Sancti Andreæ, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Licet in rebus dubiis valeant aliqui suam astutiam " seu malitiam adumbrare; cum tamen scrupulus fuerit et " articulus dubietatis amotus, et manifestis indiciis apparuerint " vestigia veritatis, penitus sunt devia relinquenda et rectitu-

[1] Hoveden adds the date, "Datum Pisæ, xvii°. kalendarum Februarii, " indictione sexta."

A.D. 1188. Jan. 16. He commands them to receive John as their bishop. "dinis tramites inquirendi pariter et servandi; ne, quod absit, "aliter agentibus, et in sua pertinacia consistentibus, post "flagella præsentia pœnasque condignas, perpetuæ mortis "interitus et supplicia debeantur æterna. Volentes ergo pa"terna sollicitudine vestræ saluti prospicere, et utilitatibus et "quieti vestræ providere, universitati vestræ per apostolica "scripta mandamus atque præcipimus, et in obedientiæ vir"tute injungimus, quatenus infra quindecim dies post harum "susceptionem, venerabilem fratrem nostrum Johannem, epi"copum vestrum, in pontificali officio canonice subrogatum, "sicut patrem præcipuum et pastorem suscipiatis humiliter "ac devote: et ejus de cætero salubribus monitis et mandatis, "omni simultate remota, debitam reverentiam impendere mi"nime postponatis. Scientes autem quod [si] postquam Hugo, "qui vester olim episcopus dicebatur, per Romanam ecclesiam "a vestri episcopatus dignitate fuit amotus, vel post ejus "decessum, jam dicto Johanne episcopo vestro superstite, ali"quem fortasse episcopum elegistis, electionem illam aucto"ritate apostolica vacuamus. Si vero, quod avertat [Deus], in "eundem episcopum Johannem, inimico humani generis sua"dente, aliquam conspirationem facere præsumpsistis, tam "vos quam totum episcopatum tamdiu volumus interdicti "sententiæ subjacere, donec agnoscentes excessum ad man"datum ipsius Johannis episcopi redeatis. Valete."[1] Hoveden, 369. a. 29. fo. 136 rº.

Dec. 21. Death of the bishop of Winchester. Eodem anno, scilicet ab Incarnatione Domini MºCºLXXXºVIIIº., festo Sancti Thomæ Apostoli, ante Nativitatem Domini, Ricardus Wintoniensis episcopus obiit. Hoveden, 371. a. 7.

The emperor takes the cross. [2]Eodem anno Fredericus Romanorum imperator, et filius ejus dux Alsatiæ et Sueviæ, et multi duces et archiepiscopi et episcopi, et comites, et barones, de terris eorum, crucem acceperunt.

Henricus rex crucem accepit.

Jan. 21. Philip and Henry take the cross. [3]Similiter Philippus rex Franciæ et Henricus rex Angliæ, die Sanctæ Agnetis acceperunt crucem, in col-

[1] "Datum Pisæ, xviiº. kalenda"rum Februarii, indictione sexta." Add. Hoved.

[2] Here follows a résumé of the events of the year, which have been already described at length, corresponding with the similar epitome at the end of the year 1186.

[3] See above, p. 30.

loquio suo inter Gisortium et Trie, de manu archiepiscopi de Tyro. A.D. 1188.

[1] Eodem anno multi tam archiepiscopi, episcopi, principes, comites, barones diversarum regionum crucem acceperunt, sicut inferius notatum est. Zeal for the crusade.

[2] Eodem anno post captionem crucis, Henricus rex Angliæ, de Normannia rediit in Angliam; sed paulo post de Anglia rediit in Normanniam, propter excessus et injurias quas rex Franciæ, et Ricardus comes Pictavensis ei faciebant. Henry goes from Normandy to England and back.

[3] Eodem anno nobilis villa Beverlacensis, cum ecclesia Sancti Johannis de Beverlaco, et cum domibus archiepiscopi et fere cum omnibus ecclesiis villæ illius, tota combusta est. Similiter multæ civitates et villæ per Angliam combustæ sunt. Beverley burnt.

[4] Eodem anno civitas Rothomagensis in maxima parte, et aliæ civitates per Normanniam* combustæ sunt. Rouen burnt.

Eodem anno exstitit magnus segetum defectus, fere per universum mundum; ita quod in sequenti æstate multi fame perierunt. Bad harvest.

[5] Eodem anno rex Franciæ et rex Angliæ destruxerunt terras suas transmarinas et cismarinas, tam per guerras quam per decimas a sæculo inauditas, et alia gravamina quæ eis fecerant. Saladin tithe.

[6] Eodem anno Philippus rex Franciæ succidit ulmum in terra sua quæ erat inter Gisortium et Trie; ubi colloquia frequenter habebantur de antiqua institutione prædecessorum suorum inter ipsos et duces Normanniæ. Philip cuts down the Elm of conference.

Hoveden, 371. a. 40. Eodem anno Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, veniens de Normannia in Angliam, saisavit in manu sua, per regis potentiam, prioratum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ. Et expulsis monachis officialibus ab officiis Archbishop Baldwin seizes the priorate of Canterbury.

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[1] See above, p. 30.
[2] See above. p. 40.
[3] See above, p. 50.
[4] See above, p. 50.
[5] See above, p. 30.
[6] See above, p. 47.

A.D. 1188. eorum, servientes suos loco illorum substituit, et monachis victualia denegavit.

The prior dies at Rome.

Eodem anno prior Cantuariensis[1] ecclesiæ Romam profectus pro liberatione domus suæ, obiit Romæ cum monachis suis qui secum erant. Hoveden, 371. a. 43.

Death of Henry, elect of Dol.

Eodem anno Henricus[2] filius Roberti filii Harding, decanus de Meretona, electus ad archiepiscopatum de Dol in Britannia, et Romam profectus ad consecrandum, ibidem interiit.

Richard joins the king of France.

[3] Eodem anno Ricardus comes Pictavensis, relicto rege Angliæ patre suo, adhæsit regi Franciæ, et homo suus devenit, contra voluntatem et prohibitionem regis patris sui, de Normannia, et Aquitannia, et Cenomannia et Berria. Et rex Franciæ reddidit ei Castrum Radulfi verbo tantum et non opere.

The bishop of Durham reinstates the monks.

Eodem anno Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus, accepta cruce, reddidit priori et monachis Dunelmi curam et custodiam prioratus Dunelmensis, quam in manu sua fere per biennium tenuerat. Hoveden, 371. a. 45.

Death of Hugh of S. Andrews.

fo. 136 v°.

Eodem anno Hugo, quondam dictus episcopus Sancti Andreæ in Scotia, depositus ab illo episcopatu per Clementem papam, et ab eo excommunicatus, Romamque profectus, ibidem obiit.

Cross seen in the air at Dunstable.

[4] Eodem anno crux quædam longa et lata apparuit in cœli nubibus apud Dunstaple in Anglia, videntibus multis: et Dominus noster Jesus Christus visus est in ea clavis confixus: et plagæ ejus visæ sunt manare sanguine, sed non cecidit super terram.

War between England and France.

Eodem anno mortalis guerra orta est inter regem Franciæ, et regem Angliæ; unde terræ eorum in magna parte destructæ sunt.

Henry spends Christmas of 1188-9 at

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini M°C°LXXX°IX°., qui est annus XXXV^{tus} et ultimus regni regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis, idem Henricus, moram faciens in Hoveden, 371. b. 33. M. Paris, 148, 41.

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[1] Honorius. See Memorials of Richard I., ii. 254, 269.

[2] See above, p. 44.

[3] See above, p. 50.

[4] See above, p. 47.

Hoveden, 371. b. 34. M. Paris, 148, 42. transmarinis partibus propter infestationes quas Ricardus comes Pictaviæ, filius ejus, et Philippus rex Franciæ ei faciebant. Fuit enim die Nativitatis Dominicæ, quæ die Dominica evenit, in Andegavia apud Saufurin: et sollemne festum ibi tenuit; licet quamplures de comitibus et baronibus suis eum reliquissent, et Ricardo filio suo et regi Franciæ adhæsissent. A.D. 1188. Saumur in Anjou.

Hoveden, 371. b. 38. M. Paris, 148, 45. Post festum vero Sancti Hylarii, disruptis treugis quæ erant inter regem Angliæ et regem Franciæ, ipse rex Franciæ et comes Ricardus Pictaviæ, congregatis exercitibus suis, intraverunt in terras regis Angliæ et devastabant eas in quantum poterant. Sed et Britones [relicto] rege Angliæ, adhærentes regi Franciæ et comiti Ricardo, infestabant eum pro posse suo. A.D. 1189. After Jan. 13. Philip and Richard invade the territories of Henry.

Hoveden, 371. a. 48. M. Paris, 148, 48. Clemens autem papa, admirans quod pax nondum fieret inter reges prædictos, misit Johannem[1] de Anagnio cardinalem cum plena potestate, ad litem dirimendam inter eos. Hoveden, 371. b. 43, shorter. Qui cum venisset ad eos, et illos nunc asperis nunc blandis ad pacem inter illos faciendam commovisset, ipsi reges, Divina inspirante gratia, cautionem præstiterunt standi judicio prædicti cardinalis, et domini Remensis, et domini Bituricensis, et domini Rothomagensis et domini Cantuariensis archiepiscoporum; ita [quod] si quis prædictorum regum judicio eorundem stare noluerit, quo minus pax inter eos reformaretur et iter Jerosolimitanæ [profectionis] expediretur; in eum tanquam in Dominicæ ac vivificæ Crucis, et totius Christianæ religionis inimicum, ex auctoritate domini papæ sententiam excommunicationis promulgaret; et statim prædictus cardinalis sententiam anathematis tulerit in omnes, tam clericos quam laicos, per quos staret quominus pax fieret inter prædictos reges; exceptis personis eorundem regum tantummodo. Clement III. sends John of Anagni to enforce peace between Henry and Philip.

Interim Fredericus Romanorum imperator, magno

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[1] John dei Conti di Segni of Anagni, cardinal priest of S. Mark.

A.D. 1189. The emperor collects his forces and marches from Regensburg on April 23.

congregato exercitu Teuthonicorum et Longobardorum et Alemannorum et aliarum multarum gentium, die Sancti Georgii recedens a civitate sua de Rainesburc, iter Jerosolimitanæ profectionis arripuit, transitum facturus per terram imperatoris Constantinopolis. Omnes enim principes imperii sui, qui secum ire nolebant, fecit jurare quod irent in exilium non redituri ante finem trium annorum proximo subsequentium. Unde factum est quod Henricus dux Saxoniæ, gener Henrici regis Angliæ, in exilium missus, eo quod ipse cum imperatore ire noluit, nec filium suum primogenitum cum eo ire permittere voluit sine consilio regis Angliæ avi sui, venit in Angliam; et non invento rege, transfretavit ad eum de Anglia in Normanniam.

Henry the Lion is forced to return to England.

Prædictus imperator Romanorum, multo tempore antequam de sua terra exiret, præmisit litteras suas Saladino in hac forma.

Epistola Frederici Romanorum imperatoris ad Saladinum regem Babyloniæ.

A.D. 1188. Challenge of the emperor Frederick to Saladin.

Hoveden, 370, b. 21. R. de Diceto, c. 640. Itin. R. Ric i. 18.

"Fredericus, Dei gratia Romanorum imperator et semper "Augustus, et hostium imperii magnificus triumphator, Sala"dino præsidi Saracenorum, quondam illustri exemplo Phara"onis fugere Jerusalem. Devotionis tuæ litteras multis retro "temporibus ad nos destinatas super arduis negotiis, tibi qui"dem si [fides] verbis subfuisset profuturis, prout majestatis "nostræ decuit magnificentiam tuam suscepimus, et epistola"rum nostrarum alloquiis magnitudini tuæ consulere [dignum] "duximus. Nunc vero quia Terram Sanctam prophanasti, "cui æterni Regis imperamus imperio, in tanti sceleris præ"sumptuosam et plectibilem audaciam debita animadversione "decernere imperialis officii sollicitudo nos admonet. Quam"obrem nisi occupatam terram Judeæ, Samariæ et Palæsti"norum ante omnia restituas, adjuncta satisfactione sacris "constitutionibus pro tam nefariis excessibus taxata: ne mi"nime legitimum videamur quærere bellum, a capite kalen"darum Novembris anno Incarnationis Dominicæ M°C°LXXX°VIII°. "evoluto anni spatio, terminum præstituimus, ad experiendam "belli fortunam in Campo Taneos in virtute vivificæ crucis "et in nomine veri Joseph. Vix enim [credere] possumus hoc "te latere, quod ex scriptis veterum, et historiis antiquis

fo. 137 r°.

Hoveden, 370. b. 42.

A.D. 1188. The challenge of the emperor Frederick to Saladin.

"nostri temporis [factum] redolet. Numquid scire dissimulas "ambas Æthiopias, Mauritaniam,[1] Persiam, Syriam, Parthiam "ubi Marci Crassi nostri dictatoris facta sunt præmaturata, "Judæam, Samariam, Maritimam, Arabiam, Chaldæam? ipsam "quoque Ægyptum, ubi, proh dolor, civis Romanus Antonius "vir insignis, virtute præditus, citra nitorem temperantiæ, et "secus quam decebat militem a tanto rerum culmine emissum, "minus sobrius Cleopatræ inserviebat amoribus? Numquid "etiam scire dissimulas Armeniam, innumerabiles et insuperabiles alias terras nostræ ditioni subjectas? norunt hæc reges "quorum cruore gladii Romani sunt crebrius inebriati, et tu "quidem in ipsa rerum experientia Deo auctore intelliges, quid "[possint] nostræ victrices aquilæ, quid cohortes diversarum "nationum, quid furor Teutonicus etiam in pace arma capessens, quid caput indomitum Rheni, quid juventus quæ fugam "nunquam novit, quid procerus Bavarus, quid Suavus astutus, "quid Francia circumspecta, quid Anglia provida et ingeniosa, quid Albania, quid Cambria, quid in gladio ludens "Saxonia, quid Turingia, quid Westfallia, quid agilis Brabantia, quid nescia pacis Lotharingia, quid inquieta Burgundia, quid Alpini salices, quid Frisonia in amento prævolans, quid Reemia ultro mori gaudens; quid Boemia suis "feris ferior, quid Austria, quid Friscia, quid Ruthonia, quid "partes Illiricæ, quid Leobardia, quid Tuscia, quid Anconitana Marchia, quid Venetus proretha,[2] quid Pisanus nauclerus, denique quid dextera nostra, quam senio arguis "effetam, gladio vibrare didicit,—dies illa [plena lætitiæ et] "reverentiæ et jocunditatis Christi præfixa te docebit."

Hoveden, 370. a. 9.

A.D. 1188. The bishopric of S. Andrews given to Roger of Beaumont.

Interim Willelmus Scotorum rex, convocatis episcopis et principibus terræ suæ in villa de Perth, dedit episcopatum Sancti Andreæ cancellario suo Rogero,[3] filio Roberti comitis Leicestriæ, præsente Johanne Dunkeldensi episcopo et non contradicente, licet prædictus Johannes ad eundem episcopatum fuisset canonice electus et consecratus, et a tribus papis, scilicet Alexandro, Urbano, Clemente, confirmatus, et licet tunc in

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[1] *Mauritaniam*] Mauritimam, B.

[2] *proretha*] pirotaus, B.

[3] Although Roger was appointed to the see of S. Andrews in this year, he was not consecrated until the first Sunday in Lent, 1199. Hoveden, 440. He was the son of earl Robert the justiciar, who died in 1168.

A.D. 1188. præsenti litteras Clementis papæ habuisset in hac forma.

"*Epistola domini Clementis papæ.*

A.D. 1188. Jan. 16. Clement III. orders the bishops of Glasgow, Aberdeen and Moray, fo. 137 vº. and the abbots of Melrose, Newbottle, Holyrood, Stirling and Scone, to go to the king of Scotland, and induce him to be reconciled with bishop John.

"Clemens episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus Jocelino Glascoensi, et Matthæo Abredonsi, et Ricardo Morefensi episcopis, et dilectis filiis Arnulfo de Melros, et Hugoni de Neubotel, et de Sancta Cruce, de Strivelin et de Scona abbatibus, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ad ea quæ respiciunt honestatem, et salutem pariunt animarum, quamvis absque monitis intendere debeatis, et diligentem operam juxta vestri officii debitum vos credamus tribuere; vestram tamen diligentiam ad majorem in his sollicitudinem exhibendam litteris apostolicis duximus exhortandum, ut eisdem operibus laude dignis tanto ferventius insistatis quanto vobis salubrius erit in ipsis ad exhortationem apostolicam exactiorem diligentiam adhibere. Constat itaque quosdam ecclesiarum prælatos cum iis qui scandalizati fuerunt, debere pati juxta normam apostolicam, ustionem, et cum infirmantibus infirmari. Quantas vero persecutiones his temporibus sustinuerit ecclesia Sancti Andreæ, quantas calamitates incurrerit et pressuras, quam etiam graviter hactenus fuerit perturbata sub umbra[1] indignationis regiæ celsitudinis et quassata; insuper venerabilis frater noster Johannes episcopus Sancti Andreæ, quot et quanta pericula sustinuerit et labores, pro servanda libertate ecclesiæ sibi commissæ, et ei a nobis et duobus prædecessoribus nostris confirmatæ, cum ea omnia sint vobis manifesta, illa vestris auribus inculcare supervacuum videtur. Nunc igitur quoniam plurimum expedire dinoscitur ut de salute regia et statu præscriptæ ecclesiæ reformando, atque pace ipsi episcopo conferenda, nos convenit sollicitudinem gerere congruentem, et circumspectionem vestram ad corroborandum nobis idoneum reputamus; discretioni vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus atque præcipimus, quatenus post susceptionem litterarum nostrarum, convenientes in unum, sicut decet viros providos et discretos, carissimi filii nostri Willelmi illustris regis Scotiæ præsentiam adeatis, et eum moneatis diligentius, et instantius inducatis, ut episcopo memorato rancorem indignationis suæ remittat, et in hoc Romanam ecclesiam, quæ serenitati regiæ jam longo tempore detulit, non contemnat; sed ejus et vestris monitis, Hoveden, 369. a. 50.

[1] *umbra*] om. B.

Hoveden, 369. b. 23. "prout regiæ gloriæ convenit et saluti, sine dilatione salubri- A.D. 1188.
"ter pareat et humiliter adquiescat; ac ipsum episcopum dio- Jan. 16.
"cesim Sancti Andreæ in pace permittat habere, cum ex de- The pope orders them to compel the king to comply.
"bito regiæ dignitatis ecclesias teneatur cum pastoribus suis
"non dispergere sed fovere, non contemnere sed amare, non
"persequi sed tueri. Quod si monitis apostolicis in propriæ
"salutis periculum, quod absit, duxerit resistendum, in reg-
"num suæ celsitudinis et personam suam et omnes fautores
"suos regios nuncietis interdicti sententiam, infra viginti dies
"sine appellationis obstaculo, auctoritate apostolica a vobis
"promulgandam; illos insuper qui Hugoni obedientes ex-
"stiterunt, et ei fomentum in sua obstinatione dederunt, post-
"quam sedes apostolica a diocesi Sancti Andreæ removit
"perpetuo, et excommunicationis sententiam in ipsum pro-
"mulgavit, simili sententia percellatis; et publice nunciantes
"eos excommunicationi subesse tamdiu faciatis, et ab aliis
"arctius evitari, donec ad mandatum ecclesiæ revertantur ab-
"solutionis beneficium ab eodem episcopo petituri. Ad hæc The acts of bishop Hugh are to be annulled.
"altaribus et calicibus, in quibus jam dictus Hugo dum esset in
"excommunicatione positus celebravit, purificationem juxta
"consuetudinem ecclesiæ conferatis. Ad ecclesiam quoque
"Sancti Andreæ pariter accedatis, et fratribus convocatis
"in unum, intretis capitulum, et de ordinatione et statu ec-
"clesiæ diligentius inquiratis, et si quid in eandem ecclesiam
"per supradictum Hugonem immutatum inveneritis vel sta-
"tutum, auctoritate nostra id in statum debitum inducatis.
"Et si quid in ipsa ecclesia fuerit corrigendum, efficaciter
"studeatis id in melius reformare: si vero, quod absit, aliquos
"ex canonicis ad recipiendum humiliter et devote pastorem
"suum prædictum duros inveneritis et rebelles, eos instantius fo. 138 r°.
"moneatis, ut illi reverentiam et obedientiam patri debitam
"exhibeant, et a maligno atque damnabili proposito suo de-
"sistant. Quod si contumaces exstiterint, eos ab officio suo
"pariter et beneficio suspendatis, et excommunicationis vinculo
"innodetis, qua ipsos faciatis manere ligatos donec monitis
"et mandatis ecclesiasticis acquiescant. Quod si omnes his
"exsequendis interesse nequiveritis, reliqui ea nihilominus
"exsequantur." [1]

Hoveden, 370. a. 11. Dato itaque episcopatu Sancti Andreæ Rogero filio Hugh of Roxburgh made chan-
comitis Leicestriæ, Willelmus rex Scotorum dedit

[1] "Datum Pisæ, xvii°. kal. Fe-"bruarii, Indictione sexta." Add. Hoveden. If this date is correct, the letter belongs to 1188.

A.D. 1189. cellor of Scotland.

cancellariam suam Hugoni de Rokesburga[1] clerico suo.

Conference at la Ferté Bernard between Philip, Henry, and Richard, about Whitsuntide (May 28).

Hoveden, 371. b. 51, shorter. M. Paris, 149. 30.

[2]Interim adveniente Pentecoste, Philippus rex Franciæ, et Henricus rex Angliæ, et Ricardus comes Pictavensis, et Johannes de Anagnio cardinalis, et archiepiscopi et episcopi et comites et barones de regno Franciæ, et ex parte regis Angliæ Walterus Rotomagensis archiepiscopus, et episcopi Normanniæ et Andegaviæ et Cenomanniæ, et Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et Hugo Lincolniensis episcopus, et Gaufridus Eliensis episcopus, et Gillebertus Rofensis et Hugo Cestrensis episcopi, et multi comites et barones de regno Angliæ et de Normannia convenerunt in hebdomada Pentecostes juxta Feritatem Bernardi, ad pacem faciendam inter prædictos reges. In quo colloquio rex Franciæ petiit Alesiam sororem suam, quam rex Angliæ in custodia habuit, donari Ricardo comiti Pictavensi in uxorem; et aliquam securitatem sibi fieri de regno Angliæ habendo post decessum patris sui: et ut Johannes frater illius crucem susciperet Jerosolimam iturus.

Philip demands the recognition of Richard as successor to Henry in England.

Richard insists that John shall go on the crusade: Henry refuses.

Et hoc idem petebat comes Ricardus fieri sibi; dicebat enim quod ipse nullo modo Jerosolimam iret, nisi Johannes frater suus cum eo venisset. Et quia rex Angliæ has petitiones regis Franciæ et comitis Ricardi facere nolebat, discordes ab invicem discesserunt.

John of Anagni threatens an interdict.

Hoveden, 372. a. 6, shorter. M. Paris 149, 40.

In eodem colloquio Johannes de Anagnio cardinalis asserebat, quod nisi rex Franciæ cum rege Anglorum ad plenum componeret, totam terram suam sententiæ excommunicationis subjaceret. Cui rex Franciæ respondit, quod sententiam suam non timeret nec teneret, cum nulla æquitate niteretur. Dicebat enim quod non per-

[1] This Hugh of Roxburgh was elected to the see of Glasgow in 1199, and died the same year, July 6. *Chron. Mailr.*

[2] From this point or a little earlier (p. 60), Roger of Wendover, who is followed by Matthew Paris, begins to draw from our Chronicle. Occasional references will be found in the margin to the edition of M. Paris by Wats, 1640.

Hoveden, 372. a. 10. M. Paris, 149, 43.

tinet ad ecclesiam Romanam in regnum Franciæ per sententiam vel alio modo animadvertere, si rex Franciæ homines suos demeritos et regno rebelles, causa injurias suas et coronæ dedecus ulciscendi, insurgit. Adjecit etiam quod prænominatus cardinalis jam sterlingos regis olfecerat.

A.D. 1189. Philip contemns the threat.

Hoveden, 372. a. 13. M. Paris, 150, 5.

June. Philip takes la Ferté Bernard, Montfort, Maletable, Beaumont, and Ballon, and surprises Henry at Le Mans (on June 12).

Et sic finito colloquio, Philippus rex Franciæ inde recedens cepit Feritatem Bernardi; deinde Montem Fortem; deinde Malum Stabulum, deinde Bellum Montem, deinde Balun, ubi trium dierum moram post captionem illam fecit. Deinde Cenomannum veniens die Dominica, fingens se Turonim iturum, proxima die Lunæ,[1] cum rex Angliæ et sui securi esse viderentur de ulteriori processu regis Franciæ, rex Franciæ disposuit acies suas insultum facturus in civitatem. Quod videns Stephanus de Turonis, senescallus Andegaviæ, ignem suburbio imposuit. Ignis vero statim accensus in immensum muros transvolans urbem accendit. Quod videntes Franci, ad pontem quendam lapideum venerunt, ubi Gaufridus de Bruilhun et multi cum eo, ex parte regis Angliæ, eis occurrerunt, volentes pontem diruere; ubi multus factus est conflictus; et magna pars hinc et inde in illo conflictu gladio interempta est. In illo autem conflictu prædictus Gaufridus captus est et in crure vulneratus, et multi alii de exercitu regis Angliæ capti sunt, et cæteri incontinenti in fugam conversi sunt, volentes se in civitatem recipere. Sed Franci una cum illis civitatem ingressi sunt. Quod videns rex Angliæ, de se desperans, et contra promissum suum veniens, cum septingentis militibus aufugit. Promiserat enim civibus illius civitatis quod non recederet ab eis, tum ea ratione quia pater suus ibi quiescebat; tum ea ratione quia ibi natus fuerat, et civitatem illam plus cæteris diligebat. Rex vero Franciæ per tria milliaria insecutus est eum;

Burning of the town.

fo. 138 v°.

Flight of Henry.

[1] The morrow of S. Barnabas. R. de Diceto, 644. Cf. Giraldus de Inst. Pr. iii. 24.

A.D. 1189. June 12. Flight of Henry. et nisi vadum per quod transitum Franci fecerunt altum esset in immensum, alios sub tanta celeritate insecuti essent fugientes, quod sicut publice asseritur, omnes capti essent. In illa autem fuga multi Walenses interfecti sunt.[1] Hoveden 372. a. 30. M. Paris, 150, 20.

Henry flies to Chinon. Rex autem Angliæ cum paucis suorum venit usque Chinonem, et ibi se in munitionem recepit. Residui vero qui remanserunt de familia regis Angliæ, in turrim Cenomanensis se receperunt. Statimque rex Franciæ turrim obsedit; et tum per effossores suos, tum per machinarum suarum insultus, tandem infra tertium diem dedita est turris cum triginta militibus et sexaginta servientibus. Hoveden, 372. a. 32. M. Paris, 150, 23. The citadel of Le Mans surrenders.

Philip takes Montdoubleau. Inde recedens cepit Duplicem Montem per deditionem tam castri quam domini. Cum enim vicecomes Castelli Dunni, hujus subversionis occasio, immo causa præcipua, in insidiis Gaufrido Vindocinensi comiti armatus inermi occurreret; et adeo graviter eum vulneravit vicecomes quod in primis de vita ejus desperatum est; sed per Dei gratiam plenius convalescit. Rex autem Franciæ eo ipso gravius factum istud ferebat, quia prædictus vicecomes regi Franciæ astrictus tenebatur, quod nullum suorum vel in eundo vel in redeundo læderet vel gravaret dum esset in obsidione Cenomanensi. Hoveden, 372. a. 36. M. Paris, 150, 27. Geoffrey of Vendome wounded.

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[1] Henry arrived the same night at Frenelles. (Gir. Camb. de Inst., Pr. iii. 25; and Vit. Galfr. Ebor., i. 4.) From Frenelles he went the next morning to Angers, and sent his son Geoffrey the chancellor with his forces to Alençon. Geoffrey seems to have returned and overtaken his father "apud "Savigniacum." We next find Henry at Saumur on the 2nd of July. Tours was taken on the 3rd. The conference of Azai is said to have taken place on the 28th of June (R. de Diceto, 645). Giraldus, however, places it on the 30th. Henry was shut up in Azai until he had submitted, and then removed in a litter to Chinon, where he died on the 6th of July. So far as I can see, the chronology of the fortnight is in inextricable confusion. If Matthew Paris is right in saying that Henry died within three days of his submission, the treaty of Azai could not have been concluded until July 4.

Hoveden, 372. a. 43. M. Paris, 150, 28.

A.D. 1189. June. Philip takes Trou, les Roches, Montoire, Chartre, Château du Loir, Chaumont, Amboise, Rochecorbon, and comes to Tours June 30.

Inde recedenti redditum est castrum Troe, cum Rupibus Episcopi, et Montorium, et Carceris Castrum, et castrum de Leir, et castrum Calvi Montis, et castrum Ambasiæ, et castrum de Rupibus Carbonis. Tandem in septimana sequenti post festum Nativitatis Beati Johannis, feria sexta, scilicet in crastino apostolorum Petri et Pauli, Turonis venit.[1]

Hoveden, 372. a. 47, shorter. M. Paris, 150, 55.

July 2. The count of Flanders and duke of Burgundy go to Saumur to persuade Henry to terms.

Die Dominica proxima sequenti, Philippus comes Flandriæ, et Willelmus archiepiscopus Remensis, et Hugo[2] dux Burgundiæ, ad regem Angliæ, qui tunc temporis apud Saumur erat, potius de sua quam de regia voluntate, ad componendum inter eos accesserunt. Rex vero Franciæ illis prædixerat antequam iter arriperent, quod nihilominus a castro Sancti Martini, in quo per vadum Ligeris se receperat, in civitatem facturus esset assultum.

Hoveden, 372. a. 52. M. Paris, 151, 5.

July 3. Philip takes Tours.

Proxima autem die Lunæ, circiter tertiam, ex parte Ligeris præ modicitate aquæ in immensum arctati et contracti, scalis muro appositis, per vim capta est civitas, et in ea octoginta milites et centum servientes capti sunt. Proh dolor! ex una parte Pictavi prætendebant regi Angliæ domino suo insidias; et ex alia parte Britones qui regi Franciæ dediti fuerant, et ab eo litteras patentes habebant impetratas, quod ipse nullatenus cum rege Angliæ componeret, nisi cum pace dimissi fuerint Brittones. Rex vero Angliæ in arcto positus, pacem fecit cum Philippo rege Franciæ in hunc modum;[3]

Henry agrees to peace.

[1] If this date is correct, and it seems consistent with the other details, Rigord is a week wrong in his computation. He places the arrival of Philip at Tours on Saturday, June 23.

[2] Hugh III., 1162–1192.

[3] Hoveden prefaces his copy of this settlement with the following words: "Convenerunt igitur prædicti rex Franciæ, et rex Angliæ, "et Ricardus comes Pictaviæ, cum "archiepiscopis et episcopis, comitibus et baronibus suis, circa festum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, "ad colloquium inter Turonim et "Azai," 372. b. Rigord gives the exact date July 4, and the place of meeting Colombieres, near Villandri, on the Cher. R. Diceto places it on the 28th of June, c. 645.

A.D. 1189. July 4. Henry accepts the terms offered by Philip; does homage; promises to give up Alais, to be married to Richard. fo. 139 r°. Richard is to receive the fealty of his father's barons. The kings are to meet at Vezelai for the crusade in Lent 1190. Henry is to pay 20,000 marks. The barons are to swear to keep Henry to these terms. Richard and Philip are to hold certain castles in pledge.

Hoveden, 372. b. 9. M. Paris, 151, 9.

" Henricus rex Angliæ ex toto posuit se in consilio " et voluntate Philippi regis Franciæ, ita quod quic- " quid rex Franciæ provideret et judicaret, rex An- " gliæ hoc totum faceret modis omnibus et sine con- " tradictione. Tunc vero prædictus rex Angliæ iterum " fecit homagium regi Franciæ, quia ipse, ut supra " diximus, reddiderat regem Franciæ dominum suum; " et rex Franciæ reddiderat ei in principio treugæ " hujus homagium suum. Tunc provisum est a rege " Franciæ, quod Alesia soror ejus, quam rex Angliæ " in custodia habuit, reddita esset, et tradita in cus- " todia unius de quinque quos comes Ricardus ele- " gerit. Deinde providit rex Franciæ, quod per sacra- " mentum hominum terræ assecuratum esset quod " prædicta soror sua tradita sit comiti Ricardo in re- " versione sua de Jerusalem; et quod comes Ricardus " habebit fidelitates hominum de terris patris sui, citra " mare et ultra. Et nullus baronum vel miles qui in " hac guerra a rege Angliæ recessit, et ad comitem " Ricardum venit, de cætero redibit ad regem Angliæ, " nisi in ultimo mense ante motionem regis versus " Jerusalem. Et terminus motionis erit in media " Quadragesima; ita quod prædicti reges et Ricardus " comes Pictavensis erunt ad illum terminum apud " Wezeliacum. Et omnes burgenses de dominicis vil- " lis regis Angliæ erunt quieti in tota terra regis " Franciæ per rectas consuetudines suas, et non im- " placitabuntur de ulla re, nisi forisfecerint in felo- " nia. Et rex Angliæ dabit regi Franciæ viginti " millia marcarum argenti. Et omnes barones regis " Angliæ jurabunt, quod si rex Angliæ noluerit has " conventiones tenere, quod ipsi tenebunt cum rege " Franciæ et comite Ricardo, et eos adjuvabunt pro " posse suo contra regem Angliæ. Et rex Franciæ et " comes Ricardus tenebunt in manu sua civitatem " Cenomanensis, et civitatem Turonis, et castellum de " Lair, et castellum de Trou; vel si rex Angliæ ma- " luerit, rex Franciæ et comes Ricardus tenebunt cas-

Hoveden, 372. b. 39. M. Paris, 151, 20. "tellum de Gisortio et castellum de Pasci, et castellum "de Nonencurt, tamdiu donec omnia fiunt quæ divisa "sunt superius per regem Franciæ." A.D. 1189. July 4.

Obiit autem rex Angliæ Henricus, anno ab Incarnatione Domini nostri Jesu Christi M°C°LXXX°IX°., mense Julii,[1] pridie nonas ejusdem mensis, in octavis apostolorum Petri et Pauli, Luna xix., feria quinta, apud Chinonem. Et sepultus est apud Fontem Eboraudi, in abbatia ibidem Deo servientium monialium. July 6. Death of Henry II., and his burial.

M. Paris, 151, 41. In crastino autem obitus illius, cum portaretur ad sepeliendum vestitus regio apparatu, gestans coronam auream in capite, et habens chirothecas [in] manus et annulum aureum in digito, et sceptrum in manu, et calceamenta auro texta, et calcaria in pedibus, cinctus gladio, jacebat habens vultum discoopertum. Quod cum nunciatum esset Ricardo comiti filio suo, festinanter venit obviam ei. Et illo superveniente, statim manavit sanguis de naribus regis defuncti, ac si indignaretur spiritus ejus de adventu illius. Tum prædictus comes flens et ejulans, processit cum corpore patris sui usque ad Fontem Eboraudi, et ibi illud sepeliri fecit. July 7. Lying in state. Hoveden, 372. b. 52, shorter. The corpse bleeds in the presence of Richard.

Hoveden, 373. a. 1. M. Paris, 152, 8. Itaque sepulto rege, prædictus comes Pictavensis statim injecit manus in Stephanum de Turonis[2] senescallum Andegaviæ, et mittens eum in carcerem, gravibus compedibus et manicis ferreis catenatum, exigebat castella et thesauros regis patris sui, quos ipse in custodia habuit. Richard imprisons the steward of Anjou;

Et uxorem filii prædicti Stephani, propter ignobilitatem mariti, ab ipso separari fecit et alii marito dari; and separates his son from his wife.

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[1] *Julii*] Junii, B. Hoveden here gives a circumstantial account of Henry's death, which agrees in some measure with that given by Giraldus Cambrensis. De Inst. Pr., p. 148.

[2] Stephen de Turnham, called by Richard of Devizes, Stephen de Marzai, seneschal of Anjou (p. 6), the companion of Richard on the crusade (Itiner., 299, 337), was sheriff of Wilts and justice in eyre, 10 Rich. I. He was the founder of Combwell abbey, and brother of Robert de Turnham, of whom we hear so much later.

A.D. 1189. July.

minans se hujusmodi nobilium puellarum vel viduarum cum ignobilibus contubernia sua auctoritate secundum leges separare.

Eodem anno, circa idem tempus quo Henricus rex Angliæ, obiit Matildis [ducissa][1] Saxoniæ filia ejus. Hoveden, 373. a. 14.

Richard's treatment of his father's servants.

Prædictus vero comes Ricardus Pictavensis honorifice retinuit omnes servientes regis patris sui, quos fideles esse noverat, et qui fideliter servierant patri suo; et illis reddidit servitia sua, quæ longo tempore fecerant patris sui, unicuique secundum meritum suum. Illos autem tam clericos quam laicos, qui relicto patre suo, illi adhæserunt, odiosos habuit, et a familiaritate sua alienos fecit. Hoveden, 373. b. 4. M. Paris, 152, 10.

He seizes the estates of three traitors.

Unde factum est quod cum Guido de Valle junior, et Radulfus de Fulgeriis, et Juellus de Maena,[2] qui relicto patre suo rege illi adhæserunt, petissent ab eo terras suas et castella in recompensatione servitii sui, et ipse reddidisset eis omnia quæ petebant, quæ rex pater ejus in vita sua propter eorum nequitias ab eis abstulerat; statim in eodem momento [dis]saisivit eos de omnibus illis quæ ipse eis reddiderat; dicens quod proditores, qui[3] tempore necessitatis dominos suos relinquunt, et aliis contra illos auxilia præstant, talem debent inde recipere remunerationem.

fo. 139 vº. Richard receives his brother John with honour.

Defuncto itaque rege et sepulto, Johannes filius ejus, qui mortis suæ occasio, immo causa præcipua fuerat, eo quod illum tempore guerræ, cum capta esset civitas Cenomannis, reliquerat, et inimicis suis adhæserat, venit ad comitem Ricardum fratrem suum, et ab ipso honorifice est susceptus. M. Paris, 152, 13.

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[1] *ducissa*] om. B. She died June 28. Chron. Stederburg, ap. Leibnitz, Scr. Rer. Br., i. 861. "Tertio idus Julii." Diceto, 644.

[2] Guy de Valle, Ralph des Fougeres, and Geoffrey of Mayenne, deserted to Richard shortly before the burning of Le Mans. R. de Diceto, 644. Ralph had been made steward of Brittany by Geoffrey in 1185.

[3] *proditores, qui*] prædicto reges, B.

Hoveden, 373. a. 16, shorter. M. Paris, 152, 14. Comes vero Ricardus in Normanniam rediens venit Rotomagum; et die Sanctæ Margaretæ, feria quinta, Luna tertia, tertio decimo kalendas Augusti, suscepit gladium ducatus Normanniæ de altari Sanctæ Mariæ Rotomagensis, præsente Waltero archiepiscopo ejusdem civitatis, et episcopis Normanniæ, et comitibus et baronibus ducatus illius; et præsentibus omnibus episcopis. Deinde excepit fidelitatem cleri et populi ducatus illius. A.D. 1189. July 20. Richard made duke of Normandy.

Hoveden, 373. a. 20. Deinde dedit idem dux filio hæredi comitis de Pertico,[1] Matildam filiam ducis Saxoniæ in uxorem. Marriage of Matilda of Saxony.

M. Paris, 152, 17. Deinde concessit et dedit Johanni fratri suo omnes terras quas dominus rex pater suus ei dederat; scilicet quatuor millia librarum terræ in Anglia, et comitatum Morethonii cum pertinentiis suis. Concessit etiam ei filiam comitis[2] Gloucestriæ, cum honore illo; et Hoveden, 373. b. 37. Willelmo Marescallo filiam[3] comitis Ricardi de Striguil cum honore illo; et Gilleberto filio Rogeri filii Rainfrei, filiam Willelmi de Loncastre, dapifero[4] regis patris sui: et concessit Gaufrido fratri suo, quondam Lincolniensis ecclesiæ electo, archiepiscopatum Eboraci. Provision for John; marriage of William Marshall and Gilbert Fitz Reinfrid.

M. Paris, 152, 20. Qui missis clericis suis in Angliam cum litteris prædicti Ricardi Normanniæ ducis pro eodem negotio, fecit saisiri prædictum archiepiscopatum Eboraci in custodia sua, expulsis custodibus regis et custodibus Huberti Walteri ejusdem ecclesiæ decani, et a quibusdam ejus ecclesiæ canonicis electi. Geoffrey being nominated to the see of York, seizes the estates.

Hoveden, 373. a. 21. M. Paris, 152, 22. Deinde supradictus dux Normanniæ, tertio die postquam factus est dux, scilicet die Sabbati, festo Sanctæ July 22. Conference of Richard and Philip.

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[1] Geoffrey III., eldest son of Rotrou III., succeeded his father in 1191.

[2] Isabella or Hawise, daughter of William, son of Robert of Caen.

[3] Isabella, daughter of Richard Strongbow, earl of Pembroke.

[4] This is William of Lancaster, baron of Kendal, and steward of Henry II., who died in 1184. R. de Monte. Some account of him will be found in *Mon. Angl.*, v. 909. His daughter's name was Helewisia. Roger Fitz-Reinfrid was one of the committee of regency appointed to assist the justiciars by Richard I. in the council of Pipewell in 1189.

A.D. 1189. July 22. Philip claims Gisors.

Mariæ Magdalenæ habuit colloquium[1] cum [domino] suo Philippo rege Franciæ; [qui] calumniatus est Gisortium et totam adjacentem provinciam. Sed quia præfatus dux Normanniæ accepturus erat Alesiam sororem suam in conjugem, sustinuit illa vice. Hoveden, 373. a. 21. M. Paris, 152, 22.

Richard promises Philip a subsidy.

In eodem colloquio Ricardus dux Normanniæ promisit se daturum regi Franciæ quatuor millia marcarum esterlingorum pro expensis suis, et præterea illas viginti millia marcarum quas pater ejus promisit. Hoveden, 373. a. 26. M. Paris, 152, 25.

Queen Eleanor makes a royal progress.

Interim domina Alienor regina, mater prædicti ducis Normanniæ, per mandatum illius de ultra mare, liberata est de carcere mariti sui, quo diu detinebatur, et reginalem curiam circumducens, de civitate in civitatem et de castello in castellum sicut ei placuit profecta est. Et misit per universos comitatus Angliæ viros honorabiles, tam clericos quam laicos, ad mandatum Ricardi ducis Normanniæ filii sui exequendum, in hac forma.[2] Hoveden, 373. a. 30.

Deliverance of prisoners proclaimed by queen Eleanor.

" Imprimis præcepit captivos omnes a carceribus et captio-" nibus liberos reddi; ut a propria persona sua argumentum " eliceret captiones molestas esse hominibus, et jocundissimam " animæ refocillationem ab ipsis emergere; præcepit itaque " quod omnes qui capti essent pro foresta liberarentur quieti, " et ut omnes [ut]lagati de foresta ad pacem redirent de præ-" cedentibus forisfactis de foresta quieti; et ut omnes alii qui " capti essent et retenti per voluntatem regis vel justitiæ ejus, " qui non essent retenti per commune rectum comitatus vel hun-" dredi vel per appellationem, quieti essent:—et illi qui per " commune rectum sunt retenti, si plegios invenire possint " standi ad rectum, si quis inde voluerit loqui versus eos, " liberentur; sin autem,—juramentum præstent standi, si quis " adversus eos loqui voluerit, et per tantum liberentur. Et " illi qui per appellationem sunt retenti pro quacunque turpi " causa, si plegios standi ad rectum invenire possint,[3] liberen-" tur, ut plenius inde jus fiat. Et illi qui utlagati sunt per Hoveden, 373. a. 37.

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[1] "Inter Calvum Montem et "Trie," add. Hoveden, who gives a rather longer account of the conference, though with no additional particulars.

[2] Hoveden gives this commission in almost the same words, but in a historical form throughout.

[3] "ut plenum inde fiat," ins. Hoveden.

Hoveden, 373. a. 45. "commune rectum sine appellatione per justitias, redeant ad "pacem, ita quod plegios inveniant standi ad rectum, si quis "versus eos loqui voluerit. Si autem per appellationem sint "utlagati, si autem fecerint pacem cum adversariis suis, "redeant ad pacem. Et omnes illi qui retenti sunt per appel- "lationem illorum, qui se malefactores esse cognoscunt, libe- "rentur quieti. Et illi malefactores, quibus pro suis proba- "tionibus concessa sunt membra et vita, abjurent terram "domini Ricardi, et abscedant. Et illi malefactores qui sine "concessione vitæ et membrorum alios appellarunt propria "voluntate, in custodia teneantur donec aliud inde habeatur "consilium. Et juret unusquisque liberorum hominum totius "regni, quod fidem portabit domino Ricardo domino Angliæ, "filio domini regis Henrici et dominæ Alienor reginæ, de "vita et membris suis et honore terreno, sicut ligio domino "suo, contra omnes homines et fœminas qui vivere poterunt "et mori; et quod ei justitiales erunt, et auxilium ei præ- "stabunt ad pacem et justitiam suam per omnia servanda." A.D. 1189. July. fo. 140 r°.

Hoveden, 373. b. 2. Finito autem supradicto concilio, Ricardus dux Normanniæ, reddidit Roberto comiti Leycestriæ terras suas, quas rex pater suus illi abstulerat. Præterea idem dux omnes quos rex pater suus exhæredavit, in pristina jura restituit. Richard reinstates the earl of Leicester.

Deinde dedit Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, et Gilberto Rofensi et Hugoni Lincolniensi et Hugoni Cestrensi episcopis, licentiam redeundi in Angliam. He sends home the bishops.

Hoveden, 373. b. 7. Postea præfatus dux venit usque Barbefluctum, et Johannes frater ejus cum eo, ad transfretandum in Angliam. Venerunt autem in Angliam, per mandatum ipsius ducis, Walterus Rotomagensis archiepiscopus et Henricus Bajocensis episcopus. Johannes vero Ebroicensis episcopus in Angliam venerat statim post Pentecosten, et adventum ducis expectavit. Richard and John go to Barfleur.

Dux autem et Johannes frater ejus, ascensis navibus apud Barbefluctum, applicuerunt in Angliam, idus Augusti, die Dominica post Assumptionem Beatæ Mariæ genitricis Dei; sed ad diversos portus applicuerunt. Nam Ricardus dux applicuit apud Portesmue, et Johannes frater ejus apud Dovre. August 13. Richard lands at Portsmouth, John at Dover.

Hoveden, 373. b. 13. M. Paris, 152, 45. Gavisa sunt ergo regna de adventu ducis, quia in meliorem statum se per illum reformari sperabant. Et Joy on Richard's arrival.

A.D. 1189. August. Comparison of Henry with the sun.

quamvis quidam, perpauci tamen, molesti essent de nece domini regis, solatium tamen fuit illis, quod quidam ait, Hoveden, 373. b. 14.

"Mira canam, sol occubuit, nox nulla secuta est."

Vere nox nulla secuta post occasum solis; nam radius solis, solium solis tenens, sole suo jubar lucidius et latius sparsit. Cum enim sol a suo solio in solum deciderit, stans tamen ejus radius occasum vel eclipsin nesciens de corpore solari repente divisus et in se solide reverberatus sol, sole cujus fuit radius, nulla nubium interpolatione vel injuria impediente, multo major et lucidior est effectus. Et ne scrupulosum quid animum legentis lædat, præsenti plenius perpendere poterit pentametro,

"Sol pater, et radius filius ejus erat."

Richard an improvement on his father.

Filius itaque in immensum crescens, patris sui opera bona perampliavit, mala vero resecavit. Nam quos pater [ex]hæredavit, filius in pristina jura restituit; quos pater fugavit, filius revocavit; quos pater in vinculis tenuit, filius illæsos abire permisit; quos pater causa justitiæ diversis pœnis afflixit, filius causa pietatis refocillavit. Hoveden, 373. b. 23.

Præfatus igitur dux Normanniæ, regis Henrici defuncti filius, ut supra dictum est, in Angliam applicuit. Hoveden, 373. b. 26.

Richard arrives at Winchester, and gives the heiress of Châteauroux to Andrew of Chavenni.

Et a clero et populo honorifice susceptus et devote, venit Wintoniam; deinde ad civitatem Sarisbiriensem, ubi dedit cuidam militi suo, nomine Andreæ de Chavenni, filiam[1] Radulfi de Dols, cum Castro Radulfi et honore de Berri ad castrum illud pertinente, quæ quondam fuerat uxor comitis Baldewini de Rivers, et fecit eos desponsari a Gilberto Rofensi episcopo in præsentia Alienor reginæ, et Hugonis Dunelmensis episcopi, et Willelmi Wigornensis et Johannis Ebroicensis episcoporum, et in præsentia multorum comitum et baronum. Hoveden, 373. b. 35, shorter.

Deinde fecit prædictus dux ponderare et in scripto redigere omnes thesauros regis patris sui, et inventa Hoveden, 374. a. 1. M. Paris. 152, 50.

[1] Dionysia. Labbe, *Bibl. MSS.*, ii. 740.

Hoveden. 374. a. 4. fuerunt et numero et pondere plusquam nongenta millia librarum [1] in auro et argento. A.D. 1189. August. fo. 140 v°.

Deinde perrexit de loco ad locum spatiando usque ad diem coronationis suæ: et fecit interim præparari copiose omnia quæ erant coronationi suæ necessaria. Progress of Richard.

[2] Interim quidam canonicorum Eboracensis ecclesiæ, per mandatum ducis, in metropolitana Eboracensi ecclesia congregati, ad eligendum sibi et ecclesiæ suæ pastorem, die Sancti Laurentii, feria quinta, elegerunt Galfridum regis Henrici filium, quondam Lincolniensis ecclesiæ electum. Et cantato hoc hymno, "Te Deum "laudamus," scripto et sigillis suis, et aliorum honestorum virorum et religiosorum scripto et sigillis, electionem illam sollemniter corroboraverunt. Et Godefridus de Luci, canonicus et archidiaconus ecclesiæ ejusdem, quamvis absens, tamen litteras ratihabitionis misit, mandans se ratam habere illam electionem. Sed magister Bartholomæus, clericus et officialis Huberti Walteri, ejusdem ecclesiæ decani, qui unus erat de prioribus electis, videns hæc omnia facta fuisse in absentia domini sui, et domini Hugonis Dunelmensis episcopi, et multorum canonicorum ejusdem ecclesiæ; ante electionem et post appellavit ad præsentiam summi pontificis omnes qui præfatæ electioni consenserant; dicens illam minus rationabiliter factam fuisse quam deberet, propter absentiam Dunelmensis episcopi et Eboracensis ecclesiæ decani, et aliorum multorum canonicorum ejusdem ecclesiæ, quorum erat de jure interesse electioni. Audiens ergo Hubertus Walter quæ apud Eboracum fiebant, appellavit Wintoniæ ad præsentiam summi pontificis, et appellationem quam officialis suus fecerat renovavit, coram Henrico Bajocensi, et Johanne Ebroicensi, et Gileberto Rofensi, et Willelmo Wigornensi, et

August 10. Geoffrey elected archbishop of York.

Hubert Walter opposes the election, and appeals against it.

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[1] "excedens numerum et valen- "tiam centum millia marcarum." Hoveden (ed. Saville).

[2] Hoveden's account of this transaction is very much shorter than that in the text, and is evidently abridged from it.

A.D. 1189. August.

The possessions of the see of York taken into the king's hands.

Hoveden, 373. b. 48.

Seffrido[1] Cicestrensi episcopis. Et per auxilium et consilium Alienor reginæ, quæ præfatum Gaufridum regis filium novercali odio persequebatur, impetravit litteras a duce, quod omnia Eboracensis ecclesiæ essent in eodem statu quo fuerint die qua dominus Henricus pater suus fuit vivus et mortuus. Et sic iterum omnia jura ecclesiastica Eboracensis ecclesiæ redierunt in manu Huberti Walter et officialium suorum sicut prius fuerant; et omnia sæcularia beneficia illius archiepiscopatus redierunt in custodia servientium.

Richard's munificent provision for John.

Hoveden, 373. b. 28, shorter. M. Paris, 152, 54.

Interim Ricardus dux Normanniæ dedit Johanni fratri suo filiam comitis Gloucestriæ cum comitatu Gloucestriæ, et castellum de Merleberg cum honore illo; et castellum de Lutegareshale cum honore illo; et castellum de Pech cum honore illo; et castellum de Boleshoveres; et totam terram quæ fuit Willelmi Peverel;[2] et villam de Notingham cum honore illo, et castellum de Lounecastre cum honore illo, et Derebisiram, et honorem de Walinford, et honorem de Tikehil, et multa alia quæ longum est enumerare per singula. Hæc omnia dedit ei cum forestis, villis et aliis omnibus pertinentiis suis.

August 20. Death of Geoffrey Riddell.

Hoveden, 373. b. 53. M. Paris, 153, 3.

Interim Gaufridus[3] Eliensis episcopus obiit Wintoniæ, xiii°. kalendas Septembris, et sepultus est apud Hely.

August 29. Marriage of John at Marlborough.

Hoveden, 373. b. 31. M. Paris, 153, 2.

His ita peractis, Johannes frater ducis desponsavit prædictam filiam comitis Gloucestriæ contra prohibitionem Baldewini Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, eo quod parentes erant in tertio gradu. Desponsavit itaque illam apud Merlebergam, quarto kalendas Septembris, festo Decollationis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ.

Hoveden, 374. a. 9. M. Paris, 153, 10.

Deinde Ricardus dux Normanniæ venit Lundonias, et congregatis ibi archiepiscopis et episcopis, comitibus

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[1] *Seffrido*] Gaufrido, B. W.

[2] Forfeited in 1155 for the poisoning of the earl of Chester.

[3] *Gaufridus*] Riddell, bishop 1174–1189.

Hoveden, 374. a. 10. M. Paris, 153, 20.

et baronibus et copiosa militum multitudine, tertio nonas Septembris, die Dominica, luna xix., festo ordinationis Sancti Gregorii papæ, die mala, prædictus Ricardus dux Normanniæ consecratus et coronatus est in regem Angliæ, apud Lundonias in Westmonasterio, a Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, ministrantibus illi in illo officio Waltero Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, Johanne Dublinensi archiepiscopo, Formalo[1] Treverensi archiepiscopo, Hugone Lincolniensi episcopo, Hugone Dunelmensi episcopo, Willelmo Wigornensi episcopo, Johanne Exoniensi episcopo, Reginaldo Bathoniensi episcopo, Johanne Norwicensi episcopo, Sefrido Cicestrensi episcopo, Gilleberto Rofensi episcopo, Petro episcopo de Sancto David in Wallia, episcopo[2] de Asfath in Wallia, episcopo[3] de Pangor in Wallia.—Albinus episcopus Fernensis[4] in Hibernia, Concors episcopus Heghdunensis[5] in Hibernia ;

A.D. 1189. Sept. 3. Coronation of Richard.

fo. 141 r°.

Bishops present.

Gaufridus Eboracensis electus, Johannes electus Candidæ Casæ in Galweia, abbas de Westmonasterio,[6] abbas de Sancto Albano,[7] abbas de Sancto Augustino Cantuariæ,[8] abbas de Hyda Wintoniæ,[9] Benedictus abbas de Burgo,[10] abbas de Sancto Eadmundo,[11] abbas de Croilandia,[12] abbas de Bello,[13] abbas Sanctæ Mariæ Eboraci,[14] Arnaldus abbas Rievallis, abbas de Holm

Bishops elect and abbots.

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[1] Fulmar, Formalis, or Formator, archdeacon of Treves, was elected archbishop by intrigue in 1183, and consecrated by pope Urban III. on Whit-Sunday 1186. He never gained full possession of his see, and was, with his competitor Rodolf, deprived by Clement III. in 1189. He then came to England, where he died.

[2] *episcopo*] Reiner, 1186–1224.

[3] *episcopo*] Guy, 1177–1190.

[4] *Fernensis*] Albinus, 1185–1122.

[5] *Heghdunensis*] Concord, bishop of Enaghdun.

[6] Walter, 1176–1190.

[7] Warin, 1188–1195.

[8] Roger, abbot 1178–1212.

[9] John Suthill, abbot 1181–1222.

[10] Benedict, abbot 1181–1193.

[11] Sampson de Totington, 1182–1211.

[12] Robert of Reading, abbot of Croyland, 1175–1190.

[13] Odo, abbot of Battle 1175–1200.

[14] Robert Harpham, 1184–1189, was dead. The abbey was represented by William the prior.

A.D. 1189. Sept. 3. List of earls present at the coronation.

Cultram,[1] abbas de Mortemer,[2] et abbas de Sancto Dionysio,[3] qui venerant ex parte regis Franciæ. Willelmus comes Albemarliæ et Essessæ, Hamellinus frater regis Henrici comes Warennæ, Johannes frater regis Ricardi, comes Meretonæ et Gloucestriæ, Robertus comes Leicestriæ, Ricardus comes de Clara, Wallerannus comes de Warwic, Willelmus de Aubeni comes de Suthsex, Albricus comes,[4] Willelmus[5] comes de Salesbiria, Willelmus Marescallus comes de Striguil, David frater regis Scotiæ comes de Huntendona.

List of barons.

Præterea hi barones interfuerunt, Robertus de Lasci, Nigellus de Mumbray, Rogerus Bigot, Reginaldus Lusci, Gervasius Painel, Willelmus de Humet, Baldewinus Wac, Robertus de Stanford, Johannes[6] constabularius Cestriæ, Jollanus de Nevil, Willelmus de Nevil, Henricus de Puteaco, Ranulfus de Glanvil justitiarius Angliæ, Gerardus de Glanvilla frater ipsius, Gillebertus Basset, Gerardus de Camvilla, Ricardus de Camvilla.[7]

Incipit ordo coronationis regis Ricardi.

Ceremonial of coronation.

Inprimis venerunt episcopi et abbates et clerici multi induti cappis purpureis, præcedentibus eos cruce, cereis, thuribulis, usque ad ostium thalami interioris. Et ibi receperunt prædictum Ricardum, qui coronandus erat, et duxerunt eum in ecclesiam Westmonasterii usque ad altare cum reverenti processione et cantu in hunc modum.

Hoveden, 374. a. 26. M. Paris, 153, 23.

Procession of clergy.

In prima fronte præcedebant clerici albis induti, portantes aquam benedictam et crucem et cereos et thuribulos: deinde veniebant abbates; deinde episcopi.

Hoveden, 374. a. 28.

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[1] Everard, 1175–1192.

[2] Mortemer-en-Lions. William Tholomeus, 1179–1200.

[3] Hugh Foucaut, 1186–1197.

[4] De Vere, earl of Oxford.

[5] William of Evreux, son of Patrick, 1168–1196.

[6] De Lacy.

[7] Hoveden does not give the names of the abbots, earls, and barons in the above list; but says, "omnibus fere abbatibus et prioribus et comitibus et baronibus Angliæ astantibus."

Hoveden, 374. a. 30. M. Paris, 153. In medio autem illorum ibant quatuor barones portantes candelabra cum cereis. A.D. 1189. Sept. 3.

Hoveden, 374. a. 31. Post illos veniebat Johannes Marescallus, portans in manibus suis duo calcaria magna et ponderosa de thesauro regis. Juxta illum ibat Godefridus de Luci portans pileum regale. The spurs and cap.

Hoveden, 374. a. 32. Post illos veniebant duo comites, quorum hæc sunt nomina; Willelmus Marescallus comes de Striguil, et Willelmus comes de Salesbiria: unus illorum, scilicet Willelmus Marescallus, portans sceptrum regale, in cujus summitate signum crucis aureum erat: et alter, scilicet Willelmus comes de Salesbiria, portans virgam regalem, habentem columbam in summitate. Two earls with the sceptre and rod.

Hoveden, 374. a. 35. Et post illos veniebant tres comites, quorum hæc sunt nomina; David frater regis Scotiæ comes de Huntedona, et Robertus comes Leicestriæ, et in medio illorum ibat Johannes comes Meretoni et Gloucestriæ, portantes tres gladios cum vaginis aureis sumptos de thesauro regis. Three earls with the swords.

Hoveden, 374. a. 39. Et post illos veniebant sex comites et barones portantes unum scaccarium super quod posita erant insignia regalia et vestes. The regalia.

Hoveden, 374. a. 40. Et post illos ibat Willelmus de Mandevilla comes de Albemarla et de Exessa, portans coronam auream in manibus suis. The crown. Deinde venit Ricardus dux Normanniæ, et Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus a dextris illius ibat, et Reginaldus Bathoniensis episcopus a sinistris illius ibat, et umbraculum sericum portabatur super illos. Richard under a canopy. fo. 141 v°. Et omnis turba comitum et baronum et militum et aliorum, tam clericorum quam laicorum, sequebatur usque in atrium ecclesiæ, et sic usque in ecclesiam ad altare.

Hoveden, 374. a. 47. Cum vero perventum esset ad altare, coram prædictis archiepiscopis et episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, clero et populo, hæc tria fecit Ricardus dux sacramenta. Richard's three oaths. Juravit itaque et vovit coram positis sacrosanctis Evangeliis et plurimorum sanctorum relli-

A.D. 1189. Sept. 3. Coronation oaths. quiis, quod pacem et honorem et reverentiam omnibus diebus vitæ suæ portabit Deo et Sanctæ Ecclesiæ et ejus ordinatis. Deinde juravit quod rectam justitiam exercebit in populo sibi commisso. Deinde juravit quod leges malas et consuetudines perversas, si aliquæ sunt in regno suo, delebit, et bonas custodiet.[1] Hoveden, 374. a. 50, M. Paris, 153.

Richard is undressed, Deinde exuerunt eum vestibus suis quibus indutus fuerat, exceptis camisia et braccis. Camisia vero illa dissuta erat in scapulis. Hoveden, 374. a. 54.

and shod. Deinde calciaverunt eum sandaliis auro contextis. Hoveden, 374. a. 55.

Delivery of the sceptre and rod. Deinde tradidit ei archiepiscopus sceptrum in manu dextera, et virgam regalem in sinistra. Hoveden, 374. b. 14.

Anointing. Deinde Baldewinus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis infundens oleum sanctum desuper in tribus locis, unxit eum in regem; scilicet in capite, in scapulis, et in brachio dextro, cum orationibus ad hoc constitutis. Hoveden, 374. b. 1.

Dressing. Deinde posuit super caput ejus consecratum pannum lineum et pileum desuper. Deinde vestierunt eum regalibus indumentis; primo tunica, deinde dalmatica. Hoveden, 374. b. 3.

Delivery of the sword, Deinde tradidit ei archiepiscopus gladium ad malefactores ecclesiæ comprimendos. Hoveden, 374. b. 6.

spurs, Deinde duo comites calciaverunt eum calcaria aurea sumpta de thesauro regis. Hoveden, 374. b. 7.

mantle. Deinde indutus est mantea. Hoveden, 374. b. 8.

Adjuration. Deinde ductus est ad altare, et conjuratus ab archiepiscopo, et prohibitus ex parte Dei ne homo honorem sibi assumat, nisi in mente habeat tenere sacramenta et vota quæ superius fecit. Et ipse respondit se per Dei auxilium omnia supradicta observaturum bona fide. Hoveden, 374. b. 9.

Coronation. Deinde ipse cepit coronam de altari, et tradidit eam archiepiscopo; et archiepiscopus posuit eam super caput regis. Hoveden, 374. b. 12.

Inthroning. Et sic coronatus rex ductus est ad sedem suam, Hoveden, 374. b. 15.

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[1] *et bonas custodiet*] Hoveden has here, "et bonas leges conderet et "sine fraude et malo ingenio eas "custodiret."

Hoveden, 374. b. 16. M. Paris, 153. ducentibus eum Hugone Dunelmensi episcopo a dextris, et Reginaldo Bathoniensi episcopo a sinistris, præcedentibus eos candelabris, et supradictis tribus gladiis. A.D. 1189. Sept. 3.

Hoveden, 374. b. 17. Deinde inchoata est Missa Dominicalis. Cum vero perventum fuit ad offertorium, præfati duo episcopi duxerunt eum ad offerendum, et reduxerunt ad sedem suam. Mass.

Hoveden, 374. b. 20. Celebrata autem Missa, et omnibus rite peractis, prædicti duo episcopi, unus a dexteris et unus a sinistris, reduxerunt eum coronatum, portantem sceptrum in dextera et virgam regalem in sinistra, ab ecclesia usque in thalamum suum, processione ordinatim præcedente. Deinde reversa est processio in chorum. The king returns to his chamber.

Hoveden, 374. b. 24. Interim rex deposuit coronam suam et vestes regales, et leviores coronam et vestes sumpsit: et sic coronatus venit prandere. Et archiepiscopi, et episcopi, et abbates et alii clerici sedebant cum eo in mensa sua, unusquisque secundum ordinem et dignitatem suam. Comites vero et barones et milites sedebant ad alias mensas et epulabantur splendide. Banquet.

Hoveden, 374. b. 30. M. Paris, 154, 11. Prandentibus autem illis, principes Judæorum contra prohibitionem regis supervenerunt. Et quia rex die præcedenti prohibuerat communi edicto, ne Judæus vel mulier ad coronationem suam veniret, curiales[1] injecerunt manus in Judæos, et spoliaverunt eos et verberaverunt eos, et plagis impositis ejecerunt eos a curia regis: quosdam vero interfecerunt, quosdam semivivos reliquerunt. Unus autem ex Judæis illis, qui Benedictus Judæus Eboracensis vocabatur, adeo graviter verberibus et vulneribus affectus est, quod de vita illius desperatum est, et sic timore mortis perterritus suscepit baptismum a Willelmo priore ecclesiæ Riot against the Jews. Story of Benedict of York. fo. 143 r°.

[1] *curiales*] Hoveden says, "plebs "superbo oculo et insatiabili cor- "de." He gives a few more particulars.

A.D. 1189. Sept. 3. Sanctæ Mariæ Eboraci; et vocatus est Willelmus. Et sic evasit mortis periculum et manus persequentium. Hoveden, 374. b. 34.

Riot in London on account of the Jews. Audiens autem plebs civitatis Lundoniæ quod curiales ita sævirent in Judæos, irruerunt in Judæos civitatis et spoliaverunt eos, et multos interfecerunt utriusque sexus; et domos illorum succenderunt, et in cinerem et favillam redegerunt. Pauci tamen illorum evaserunt illam interfectionem, includentes se infra turrim Lundoniarum, et in domibus amicorum suorum latitabant. Hoveden, 374. b. 35. M. Paris, 154, 17.

Sept. 4. Richard punishes the rioters. Insequenti die cum rex audisset hæc fieri, missis servientibus suis per civitatem, fecit comprehendi quosdam malefactorum illorum et sibi præsentari. Tres vero illorum per judicium curiæ suspensi sunt in patibulo: unus quia furtum fecerat in re cujusdam Christiani; duo quia incendium fecerant in civitate, unde domus Christianorum combustæ sunt. Deinde misit rex pro viro illo qui jam de Judæo factus fuerat Christianus, præsentibus illis qui viderant baptizare eum; et interrogavit eum, si esset Christianus effectus. Ipse vero respondit "Non," sed ut mortem evaderet permisit sibi fieri a Christianis quod volebant. Tunc interrogavit rex archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, præsentibus multis archiepiscopis et episcopis, quid esset de illo faciendum. Respondit archiepiscopus minus discrete quam deberet dicens, "Si ipse homo Dei esse non vult, "sit homo diaboli," et sic reversus est ille qui fuerat Christianus ad legem Judaicam. Hoveden, 374. b. 37. M. Paris, 154. 23. Benedict of York returns to Judaism.

Sept. 5. Reception of homage. In crastino vero recepit rex homagia et fidelitates de archiepiscopis et episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus et baronibus terræ suæ. Hoveden, 374. b. 53.

Richard proclaims protection to the Jews. Interim misit rex nuncios et litteras suas per omnes comitatus Angliæ, prohibens ne aliquis forisfaciat Judæis, sed pacem suam habeant. Sed priusquam edictum illud publicatum esset, Judæi qui erant in villa Dunestaple conversi sunt ad fidem Christianorum, et baptizati sunt, et uxores suas desponsaverunt. Similiter fiebat per plures civitates in Anglia.

Hoveden, 375. a. 47.

Deinde dominus rex Ricardus venit ad abbatiam quæ dicitur Pipewella:[1] et congregatis ibi Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, et Waltero Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, et Johanne Dublinensi archiepiscopo, et omnibus episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus totius regni,[2] præfatus rex Ricardus dedit Godefrido de Luci episcopatum Wintoniensem, et Ricardo[3] thesaurario suo, archidiacono Eliensi, episcopatum Lundoniarum, xv°. die Septembris, in crastino Exaltationis Sanctæ Crucis. Et his expletis rex et cæteri omnes reversi sunt ad hospitia.

A.D. 1189. Sept. 15. Council of Pipewell.

Richard appoints bishops of Winchester and London.

Hoveden, 375. b. 2, shorter.

Mane autem facto venit iterum rex, et præfati archiepiscopi et episcopi cum copiosa clericorum et laicorum multitudine, ad prædictam abbatiam; et dedit Willelmo de Luncamp, cancellario suo, episcopatum Eliensem, et Huberto Walteri, decano Eboraci, episcopatum Saresbiriensem. Et sic omnis controversia quæ erat inter illum et Gaufridum Eboracensis ecclesiæ electum sopita est.

Sept. 16. He appoints bishops of Ely and Salisbury.

Hoveden, 375. b. 4.

Deinde dominus rex dedit abbatiam de Selebi Rogero Lundoniensi,[4] ejusdem abbatiæ priori; et priori[5] de Bermundesheia abbatiam de Glastincbiria: et Gaufrido fratri suo, quondam Lincolniensi electo, archiepiscopatum Eboracensem: et Henrico[6] fratri Willelmi Marescalli decanatum ecclesiæ Eboracensis; et Buchardo[7] de Putheaco, nepoti Hugonis Dunelmensis episcopi, thesaurariam ecclesiæ Eboracensis; et Willelmo de Chamvil archidiaconatum de Richemunda, et Willelmo[8] de

He gives away the abbeys of Selby and Glastonbury, appoints Geoffrey archbishop of York, and makes other appointments in York.

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[1] Richard was at S. Alban's on the 7th of September. *Mon. Angl.*, v. 491. His charters of September 16, 17, 18, are dated at Geddington, in which manor Pipewell abbey was situated. *Mon. Angl.*, v. 431.

[2] Hoveden here gives the list of the bishops as above, p. 79.

[3] Richard Fitz Neal.

[4] Roger of London, abbot 1189–1195.

[5] Henry de Sully, afterwards bishop of Worcester.

[6] Henry Marshall, afterwards bishop of Exeter.

[7] *Buchardo*] Son of Everard de Puiset, and brother of the count of Bar on the Seine. His uncle, Hugh of Puiset, had been treasurer before him, 1144–1153, as had S. William his cousin.

[8] Afterwards bishop of London, 1199–1221.

A.D. 1189. Sept. 16. Sanctæ Mariæ Ecclesia præbendam quæ fuit Huberti Walteri in ecclesia Eboracensi. Hoveden, 375. b. 9.

Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury claims the right of consecrating Geoffrey. Hoveden, 375. b. 10, shorter. fo. 142 vº.

Cumque Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus vidisset dominum regem dedisse Gaufrido fratri suo archiepiscopatum Eboracensem, statim protulit coram rege et præfatis archiepiscopis et episcopis cartam regis Willelmi Bastardi[1] qui Angliam bellando sibi subjugaverat, in qua continebatur controversia quæ olim vertebatur inter Eboracensem ecclesiam et Cantuariensem super primatia Angliæ et quibusdam aliis dignitatibus, quas altera adversus alteram petebat, et ad quem finem controversia prædicta pervenit. Itaque in carta illa regis Willelmi continebatur, quod Thomas tunc temporis Eboracensis archiepiscopus, ordinem sacerdotalem et episcopalem consecrationem suscepit de manu Lamfranci, tunc temporis Cantuariensis archiepiscopi et totius Angliæ primatis; et ei professionem scriptam fecit, et ad concilia sua, cum Lindisfarnensis ecclesiæ episcopo et cæteris suffraganeis suis, venit, et ei omnem reverentiam sicut primati suo exhibuit. Hæc autem omnia facta fuisse coram rege Willelmo in generali concilio apud Lundonias, testabatur carta illa per diffinitivam sententiam, ab Alexandro papa secundo prolatam, in præsentia N.[2] legati, qui a præfato papa missus erat ad litem illam inter prædictos archiepiscopos et eorum successores dirimendam. Auctoritate igitur hujus cartæ, Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus prohibuit per Gilbertum Rofensem episcopum, et Hugonem Cestrensem episcopum, Gaufrido Eboracensi electo, ne ipse ab aliquo alio quam ab illo ordinem sacerdotalem vel episcopalem susciperet consecrationem. Et prohibuit Hugoni Dunelmensi episcopo, et Johanni Divilinensi archiepiscopo, et Formali Treverensi archiepiscopo, ne

[1] This document may be found at length in William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, iii. fo. 65, ed. Savile, and in many other places.

[2] *N.*] Hubert, reader of the Holy Roman Church. W. Malmsb., ed. Savile, 66.

illi munus ordinationis vel consecrationis illi facere præsumerent. Et super hoc ad sedem apostolicam appellavit. A.D. 1189. Sept. 16.

Hoveden, 375. b. 24, shorter.

Insequenti vero die, scilicet in xvii°. die Septembris, Johannes electus Candidæ Casæ consecratus est in episcopum, a Johanne Divilinensi archiepiscopo, administrantibus ei Formali Treverensi archiepiscopo et Concorde Hegdunensi episcopo, apud abbatiam de Pipewella, die Dominica, festo Sancti Lamberti episcopi et martyris, xv°. kalendas Octobris. Sept. 17. Consecration of John bishop of Whithern.

Eodem die Matildis filia ducis Saxoniæ, uxor Gaufridi comitis de Pertico, rediens de Normannia in Angliam venit ad Ricardum regem Angliæ avunculum suum. Arrival of Matilda of Saxony.

Hoveden, 375. a. 9.

In eodem concilio Ricardus rex Angliæ dedit Deo et beato Cuthberto Dunelmensi, et Hugoni Dunelmensi episcopo, et omnibus successoribus suis, dominicum manerium suum de [Sadberga] cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, et cum wapentaca, et cum omnibus ad regis coronam pertinentibus, sine aliquo retinemento; et carta sua confirmavit. Et cum hac concessione prædictus episcopus quieta clamavit regi servitia militum suorum in Lindissia, scilicet servitia Philippi de Kyma et Baldewini Wac.[1] Richard's grants to Hugh bishop of Durham.

Hoveden, 375. b. 26, shorter.

In eodem concilio Ricardus rex constituit Dunelmensem episcopum et Willelmum de Mandavilla comitem Albamarliæ justitiarios Angliæ,[2] quia Ranulfus de Glanvil jam senio et labore confectus, qui justitiarius Angliæ tempore regis Henrici exstiterat, quæsivit a rege Ricardi licentiam eundi Jerosolimam et accepit. He appoints justiciars.

His ita peractis, unusquisque ad sua remeavit. The council breaks up.

Interim Ricardus rex magnum congregavit exercitum, et misit illum cum Johanne fratre suo in Walliam ad debellandum Resum filium Griffini regem de Sutwalles, John is sent into Wales with an army.

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[1] This act is given in full by Hoveden, f. 375. a.

[2] "Et associavit cum eis in regi-"mine regni Willelmum Marescal-"lum, et Gaufridum filium Petri, "et Willelmum Bruuere, et Ro-"bertum de Wihtefeld, et Rogerum "filium Remfridi." Add. Hoved.

A.D. 1189. September. John meets the Welsh kings at Worcester.

pro eo quod ipse [pacem] suam fregerat et mandatis suis obedire nolebat. Cæteri vero reges Wallorum ad eum venerunt apud Wirecestre, et fœdus pacis cum eo inierunt.

Geoffrey is ordained priest at Southwell, Sept. 23; and Henry Marshall, deacon at Burton-in-Lindsey.

fo. 143 r°.

Hoveden, 375. b. 37.

Interim Gaufridus Eboracensis electus venit ad Suwelle villam suam; et ibi mense Septembri, Sabbato quatuor temporum, suscepit ordinem sacerdotalem a Johanne episcopo Candidæ Casæ, suffraganeo suo. Et Henricus frater Willelmi Marescalli, cui Ricardus rex decanatum Eboracensis ecclesiæ dederat, venit usque Burtonam in Lindeseia, et ibi suscepit ordinem subdiaconi et diaconi in una die a Concorde Egdunensi episcopo. Et cum ipse ad Eboracensem ecclesiam venisset, non invenit qui eum in stallum suum mitteret. Dicebant enim clerici ecclesiæ illius quod nullus præter archiepiscopum debuit mittere eum in stallum decani. Sed Hamo præcentor ejusdem ecclesiæ misit eum in stallum præbendæ quam præfatus rex ei dederat. Cum autem Buccardus de Puteaco archidiaconus Dunelmensis, cui rex thesaurariam Eboracensis ecclesiæ dederat, Eboracum venisset cum litteris regis, Hamoni præcentori directis, ut prædictum Buccardum in stallum mitteret; noluit mandatis regis obedire. Dicebat enim quod Rogerus Eboracensis archiepiscopus ipsi prædictam thesaurariam dederat; et quod rex Henricus illam ipsi confirmaverat; et super hoc ad sedem apostolicam appellavit. Et uterque fraudatus a desiderio suo recessit.

Hamo, the precentor of York, refuses to install the new treasurer.

De morte imperatoris Romanorum.

The emperor Frederick arrives at Constantinople.

Interim Fredericus Romanorum imperator venit Constantinopolim cum exercitu suo, et ab imperatore Constantinopolitano cum debito honore et reverentia magna susceptus, dedit et accepit securitates de pace servanda. Et facta ibi mora per aliquot dies prævidit sibi ea quæ essent necessaria sibi et suis in via. Et inde procedens cum exercitu suo, venit in terram Soltani de Yconio,

He marches into Asia Minor (A.D. 1190).

et pugnavit cum illo, et prævaluit adversus eum, et obtinuit munitiones ejus. Sed multos amisit de militibus et de familiaribus suis, tam in præliis multis quæ fecit contra Turcos, quam per diversas ægritudines ex corruptione aeris provenientes. Post multum vero temporis, cum prædictus imperator exiret de terra Soltani de Yconio, et venisset in terram Rupini de la Muntaine,[1] venit ad fluvium magnum qui dicitur Salef; qui etiam currens per medium terræ Turkorum, dividit eam a terra Rupini prædicti, et cadit in gulfo Sataliæ. Quo cum imperator ille pervenisset, deposuit vestimenta sua in ripa fluminis et prosiliit in aquam ad balneandum se; erat enim æstus magnus valde. Ad exemplum autem imperatoris multi de commilitonibus suis deposuerunt vestimenta sua et prosilierunt in flumine; et cum omnes conarentur natare trans flumen, solus imperator transnatavit. Et cum rediret natando, defecerunt ei vires, et rapacitas aquæ traxit eum in profundum, "Et sic submersus vitam finivit in undis." Sui autem stabant attoniti in ripa plorantes, et explorantes ut eum ad terram traherent. Et extrahentes eum, totum corpus in frusta sciderunt, et carnem ejus coxerunt, et ossa ejus extraxerunt, et carnes coctas sepelierunt in Antiochia cum cerebro et visceribus. Ossa autem ejus secum tulerunt usque ad civitatem Tyri, et sepelierunt ea ibi. Filius autem ejus Conradus[2] dux Suaviæ factus est princeps exercitus illius.

A.D. 1190. Fights with the Turks of Iconium.

Enters Armenia.

He is drowned (June 10 1190).

fo. 143 v°.

A.D. 1189.

Hoveden, 375. b. 55.

Eodem anno Formalis Treverensis archiepiscopus obiit in Anglia apud Norhamtonam.

Death of the archbishop of Treves.

Hoveden, 376. a. 1.

Eodem anno, mense Septembris, homines Lundonienses et cæteri multi qui de diversis regnis per naves iter Jerosolimitanum arripuerant, obsederunt in Hispania

The London crusaders besiege Silvia.

[1] The prince of Armenia. Leo, the reigning prince, was the successor of Rupin, and was crowned king in 1197, by Conrad of Wittelsbach, archbishop of Mentz.

[2] Frederick V., 1169–1191. Conrad did not succeed to Suabia until after his brother's death in 1191, and died in 1196.

A.D. 1189. civitatem quandam Saracenorum quæ Silva dicitur, et ceperunt eam; et deletis spurcitiis eorum, legem Christianam ibi in perpetuum tenendam statuerunt, et ecclesiam ibi in honore Dei et beatæ Virginis Dei genitricis Mariæ fabricaverunt; et accersitis vicinis episcopis qui cum eis venerant, fecerunt consecrari episcopum ejusdem civitatis, et tradiderunt eam Sancio Regi de Portigal. Et ipsi die Sancti Michaelis transierunt per districtas Africæ sine impedimento.[1] Hoveden, 376. a. 3.

They take the city, and give it up to the king of Portugal. fo. 144 r°.

Pass the Straits of Gibraltar, Sept. 29.

Et eodem mense Ricardus rex deposuit a bailliis suis Ranulfum de Glanvilla justitiarium Angliæ, et fere omnes vicecomites et ballivos eorum; et omnes redemit usque ad ultimum quadrantem: et quanto familiariores patri suo exstiterant tanto eos plus opprimebat. Qui autem non habebat quantum ab eo exigebatur, statim capiebatur, et in carcerem mittebatur ubi erat fletus et stridor dentium; et alios vicecomites in loco depositorum instituit. Et omnia erant ei venalia, scilicet potestates, dominationes, comitatus, vicecomitatus, castella, villæ, prædia, et cætera iis similia. Unde factum est quod Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus, emit sibi et ita ecclesiæ suæ Dunelmensi in perpetuum, villam regis de Seggesfeld cum wapentahc et aliis pertinentiis suis, pro servitio quinque militum in Lindeseya, quos idem episcopus quietos clamavit regi in sempiternum. Præterea idem Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus emit sibi in vita sua comitatum de Norhumbria, cum castellis et aliis pertinentiis suis. Præterea idem Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus dedit regi mille marcas argenti, ut

M. Paris, 154, 47.

Hoveden, 375. a. 45.

Richard deposes Ranulf Glanvill and the sheriffs.

All offices are put up to sale.

Hugh of Durham buys the earldom of Northumberland.

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[1] If this date is correct, it is clear that the statement in the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*, that the captors of Silvia arrived at Acre in the early part of September, cannot be interpreted literally. It probably means that the northern fleets, of which this was a part, began to arrive at that time. P. 65, &c. Ralph de Diceto gives a short account of the affair. According to him the fleet left Dartmouth May 18, and reached Lisbon June 29; they began the siege of Silvia July 16, and took it September 6. The mosque was consecrated to the Blessed Virgin, Sept. 8. R. Diceto, 646.

M. Paris, 165, 1. esset justitiarius in Anglia, et ut ab itinere Jerosolimitano remaneret; et ipse Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus misit nuncios suos ad summum pontificem pro habenda remanendi licentia. A.D. 1189. September. Hugh gives up the crusade.

Hoveden, 376. a. 9. Et Godefridus Wintoniensis episcopus emit ab illo duo maneria optima, quorum unum dicitur Weregrave, et alterum Menes,[1] pertinentia ad episcopatum suum ut dicebatur. Godfrey of Winchester buys Wargrave and Meon.

Hoveden, 376. a. 11. Et Samson abbas de Sancto Eadmundo, emit ab eo manerium quod dicitur Mildeshale pro mille marcis, quod antiquo jure pertinebat ad abbatiam suam, ut dicebatur. Samson of S. Edmund's buys Mildenhall.

Hoveden, 376. a. 13. Et cæteri quicunque volebant, emebant a rege tam sua quam aliena jura. Unde factum est quod rex infinitam adquisivit pecuniam quantam nullus antecessorum suorum habuisse dinoscitur. The king collects an immense treasure.

Et mense Septembri rex constituit Johannem fratrem Willelmi Marescalli custodem et receptorem omnium excaitarum suarum in Anglia; sed paulo post removit illum a baillia sua, et aliis illam tradidit. John Marshall made escheator.

Eodem anno, mense Octobri, Willelmus de Mandevilla comes Albemarliæ transfretavit de Anglia in Normanniam pro agendis negotiis domini sui Ricardi regis. October. William Mandeville goes to Normandy.

Hoveden, 376. a. 14. Eodem mense Octobri, Gaufridus Eboracensis electus venit Eboracum, et cum sollemni processione receptus est in ecclesia sua a clero et populo. Venerunt etiam Eboracum Henricus frater Willelmi Marescalli, cui rex dederat decanatum Eboracensis ecclesiæ; et Bucardus nepos Hugonis Dunelmensis episcopi, cui rex dederat thesaurariam Eboracensis ecclesiæ. Sed Eboracensis electus noluit eos recipere nec in stallos mittere, dicens quod non mitteret eos in stallos donec electio sua confirmata esset a summo pontifice. Geoffrey comes to York; refuses to install the new dean and treasurer, and so offends the king.

Hoveden, 375. b. 34. Unde rex iratus dissaisivit eum ab omnibus laicis tenementis suis cismarinis et transmarinis.

Eodem mense idem Gaufridus Eboracensis electus Geoffrey

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[1] *Menes*] Enes, B.

A.D. 1189. October. Sends to Rome for the pall.

misit Adam de Thornovere canonicum Eboracensem et alios nuncios quamplures ad Romanum pontificem propter pallium; sed rex noluit permittere eos transfretare, et sic reversi sunt ad dominum suum.

Henry the Lion returns to Germany.

Eodem mense Octobris, Henricus dux Saxoniæ, audito quod uxor sua esset defuncta, misit Henricum filium suum in Saxoniam primogenitum; et ipse veniens contra sacramentum quod fecerat domino suo imperatori, secutus est filium suum festinanter; et congregato exercitu magno invasit eos quibus imperator terras suas dederat, et expugnavit eos, et in brevi cepit plus quam triginta castella.[1] Hoveden, 376. a. 21.

November. Death of William Mandeville, and Hugh de Puiset, count of Bar-on-the-Seine.

fo. 144 vo.

Eodem anno, mense Novembris, Willelmus de Mandevilla [comes] Albemariæ obiit[2] in Normannia apud Rothomagum. Hoveden, 376. a. 24.

Eodem mense Novembris Hugo de Putheaco, comes de Bar, nepos Hugonis Dunelmensis episcopi, frater supradicti Bucardi, obiit in Anglia apud Aldech,[3] et sepultus est Dunelmi in loco qui dicitur Galilæa. Hoveden, 376. a. 25.

Rotrou, count of Perche, brings to Richard the news of Philip's preparations for the crusade.

Eodem mense Novembris Rothrodus comes de Pertico venit ex parte Philippi regis Franciæ in Angliam, per quem ipse mandavit Ricardo regi Angliæ et comitibus et baronibus totius regni sui, ipsum et comites et barones suos de regno Franciæ, in generali concilio suo Parisius, jurasse, tactis sacrosanctis evangeliis, quod ipse et sui immutabiliter, Deo volente, erunt apud Wize- Hoveden, 376. a. 27. M. Paris, 155, 49.

[1] According to Arnold of Lübeck (Leibnitz, *Scr. Rer. Br.*, ii. 684), Henry the Lion arrived with his son at Stade about Michaelmas, and having been received by Hartwig, archbishop of Bremen, proceeded to take possession of the county of Holstein, took Bardevic on the 28th of October, and Lübeck and Lauenburg shortly after Martinmas. Cf. Chron. Sclav. ap. Lindenbrog, p. 203.

[2] William de Mandeville died Nov. 14 (R. de Diceto, 650), without issue. The earldom of Essex went to Geoffrey Fitz Peter his cousin. His widow carried her earldom of Albemarle first to Baldwin of Bethune, and then to William de Fortibus, who founded the English line of Albemarle and Holderness. The Norman county of Aumâle was given by Philip Augustus to Simon of Dammartin.

[3] *Aldech*] Adet, Hoveden. Savile suggests *Acle*.

Hoveden, 376. a. 31. liacum ad clausum Pascha; inde Jerosolimam ituri; et in testimonium hujus sacramenti ipse rex Franciæ misit cartam suam[1] regi Angliæ per prædictum Rotrodum comitem de Pertico, petens quod rex Angliæ et comites et barones Angliæ simili modo faciant eum securum de itinere faciendo ad eundem terminum. A.D. 1189. November. He requests Richard to meet him at Vezelai on April 1.

Hoveden, 376. a. 34. M. Paris, 155, 55. Unde factum est quod rex Angliæ Ricardus, congregatis episcopis et comitibus et baronibus regni sui in civitate Lundoniarum, et in generali concilio recepto prius a prædicto comite de Pertico, et aliis nunciis regis Franciæ, sacramento in animam regis Franciæ, quod ipse rex Franciæ immutabiliter veniret ad Wizeliacum in clauso Pascha, contra regem Angliæ, ad perficiendum iter suum Jerosolimitanum; fecit Willelmum de Mandavilla jurare in animam suam, coram prædictis nunciis regis Franciæ, quod omni occasione remota et excusatione, veniret Wizeliacum, et in clauso Pascha, contra regem Franciæ, ad peregrinationem suam Jerosolimitanam perficiendum. Richard, after a council at London, promises to meet Philip at Vezelai on April 1.

Hoveden, 376. a. 42. Eodem anno[2] Sibylla regina Jerusalem dedit Saladino Scalonam pro redemptione Widonis de Lezinun, regis Jerusalem, mariti sui. Qui cum veniret ad Tyrum, Conradus marchio non permisit eum intrare. Rex autem ille, non habens ubi caput suum reclinaret, extra urbem Tyri in tentoriis remansit. Confluebant ergo ad eum Templarii et Hospitalares et omnes Christiani, qui dispersi erant in regione illa propter metum Judæorum et paganorum, et adhærebant ei sicut domino et regi suo. Deinde per consilium Heraclii patriarchæ et illorum qui cum illo erant, profectus est usque ad civitatem Acræ mense Augusti,[3] xi°. kalendas Septembris, et eam obsedit in loco qui dicitur Le Turun. Et quia News from Palestine. The siege of Acre is begun, Aug. 22.

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[1] See Fœd., i. 49.

[2] The release of Guy actually took place in May 1188. Ascalon had been surrendered to Saladin Sept. 4, 1187.

[3] Bohadin, the Itinerarium, and a letter given by R. Diceto, place the opening of the siege on the 28th of August.

A.D. 1189. August. Siege of Acre. rex modicum habebat exercitum, pagani qui in civitate Acræ erant, non clauserunt portas civitatis, neque de die neque de nocte, sed ibant et revertebantur cum camelis suis, attrahentes eis victualia et alia quæ erant eis necessaria. Tertia autem die sequenti applicuerunt apud Acram comes Robertus de Drues, et Robertus[1] episcopus Belvacensis frater ejus, et comes Airaldus de Brenes,[2] et Jakes de Avennis,[3] et alii multi cum illis, de quorum adventu rex et qui cum eo erant gavisi sunt gaudio magno. Hoveden, 376. a. 52. Arrival of new crusaders.

Oct. 4. Battle before Acre. Interim Saladinus magno congregato exercitu venit prope exercitum Christianorum, et commisit cum eis prælium feria quarta post festum Sancti Michaelis in planitie ante Acram, inter Acram et Casale Episcopi; in quo prælio Saladinus confectus est et fugatus, ita quod ipse omnia tentoria reliquit Christianis, et amisit de melioribus militiæ suæ partem unam; sed et Christiani magnam partem suorum perdiderunt. Postea vero Saladinus recuperavit super gentem Christianam propter peccata eorum, ita quod usque ad castra sua repulsi sunt. Et Girardus de Ridesfor[4] magister Templi, et marescallus Templi cum fratribus fere duodeviginti qui optime se continuerant, ibi interfecti fuerunt. Et aliam amiserunt Christiani militiam usque ad milites quadraginta et centum Turcoplos. Saladinus vero amisit ibi primogenitum suum Mirasalim, et nepotem suum Tekehedin, et Migebal senescallum suum, et cæteros de melioribus militiæ suæ, et multos alios quorum non erat numerus. Feria vero quarta sequenti venit iterum Saladinus cum exercitu suo, et cum Christiani vellent cum eo congredi, velocius retulit pedem; et tertia die sequenti movit castra sua, et usque ad locum qui dicitur Hoveden, 376. b. 4. fo. 145 r°. Gerard, the Master of the Temple, dies. Oct. 11. Saladin retires.

[1] *Robertus*] Philip of Dreux, bishop of Beauvais, 1180-1217.

[2] Erard II., count of Brienne.

[3] James of Avesnes, the hero of the third crusade.

[4] *Ridesfor*] Bedeforde, Hoveden (ed. Savile).

Hoveden, 376. b. 18. Saffran[1] divertit. Exercitus vero ejus occupaverat omnem locum a Casali Episcopi usque ad Dotum; quoniam ex quo Saladinus natus fuit nunquam antea tantum exercitum congregavit. Nam de tota terra sua nullus remansit aptus ad prælium qui non fuerit in illo exercitu adunatus. Nec credo quod aliquis unquam tantam tamque bonam aliquando alicubi viderit militiam Christianorum quantam ibi videre poterat. Et post peractum bellum venerunt quingenti milites optimi et decem millia hominum pugnatorum et armis omnibus instructorum. A.D. 1189. October. Immense assembly of troops before Acre.

Hoveden, 376. b. 25, longer. Et eodem anno applicuerunt ibi naves et busciæ plus quam quingentæ, exceptis galeis et cursariis, quæ multæ fuerunt: et statim revertebantur usque in Apuliam, ut plus afferrent, scilicet homines et victualia. Naves autem Teutonicorum et Dacorum remanserunt apud Acram. Arrival of 500 ships.

Quomodo obsessa est Acra a Christianis.

Hoveden, 376. b. 30. Et est notandum quod civitas Acra obsessa erat in hunc modum. Gwydo rex Jerosolimitanus cum regina et filiabus suis hospitatus est in Thorono subtus versus mare, versus caput montis. Et Heraclius patriarcha et Gaufridus frater regis erant cum eo. Tota vero maritima, qua itur ad Chayphas, Pisani castrametati sunt, ita quod nullus ex illa parte a civitate exire poterat. Et ex alia parte Thoroni, ubi sedet Machomarum, ibi dominus Landigravus[2] et dominus Jacobus de Avennis, omnesque Teutonici et Januenses castra posuerunt. Postea Templum cum gente sua hospitatum est, ubi fuerant horti et cisternæ Latinorum. Hospitale cum Arrangements of the siege of Acre.

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[1] According to Bohadin, p. 109, Saladin retreated on Oct. 12, to Cheruba, which is probably Khureibeh on Mount Carmel. Saffran is probably the place called by Bohadin the hill of Sjaferam, now perhaps Shefa' Amar, a few miles east of Haipha; p. 144.

[2] *Landigravus*] antigrafus, B.

A.D. 1189. fratribus et familia sua ibi castra posuit ubi erat hortus et terra ejusdem Hospitalis. Ex alia parte usque in mare hospitati fuerunt Cunradus Marchio et multi de ultramontanis usque montem Musardum. Et comes Robertus et episcopus Belvacensis et comes Airaldus de Brena, et Franci et Campani cum gentibus regis morabantur ibi juxta Thoronum prope villam: et archiepiscopi cum eis, scilicet Pisanus[1] et archiepiscopus de Nazareth,[2] archiepiscopus de Besenzun,[3] archiepiscopus de Arle-le-blanc,[4] archiepiscopus de Monteregali.[5] Hoveden, 376. b. 38.

Investiture of Acre.

The crusaders intrench their camp.

Deinde Christiani fecerunt unum fossatum magnum a mari usque ad mare, ubi erat fossatum Templi inter se et paganos: et aliud fossatum fecerunt inter se et villam, ita quod nullum ab eis qui erant in villa timebant assultum, et nullus paganorum egredi potuit de villa, nisi per manus eorum. Et ingenia eorum et perreriæ Christianorum retro fossata erant, ita quod nullus poterat eis nocere ex parte adversa. Et ita erant Christiani expositi ventis et imbribus, nullas habentes domos vel tuguria quibus operirentur, nec inde si jurassent moveri poterant, sed ibi oportebat eos vivere aut mori. Et, ut dictum est, ita obsederunt Acram ex omni parte, quod nullus omnino ex ea [posset] exire, et de die in diem insultum faciebant in eam. Hæc contra ex una parte Christianorum erat Acra, et Saladinus ex altera. Et in veritate dico quod nulli unquam Christiani in tali vel tanta fuerint expectatione, et nulla eis deferri victualia poterant nisi per mare. Hoveden, 376. b. 45.

fo. 145 vo.

They are besieged by Saladin, and in great distress.

Consecration of the bishops of Winchester

Eodem anno, mense Octobris, Gaufridus de Luci Wintoniensis electus, et Hubertus Walteri Salesbiriensis electus, consecrationem suam susceperunt a Baldewino Hoveden, 377. a. 4.

[1] *Pisanus*] Ubaldo Lanfranchi, 1174–1209, the standard-bearer of the Crusade. Chron. Pisan. ap. Ughelli, Italia Sacra, iii. 888.

[2] *Nazareth*] Letard, 1158–1190.

[3] *Besenzun*] Thierri of Montfaucon, 1179–1191.

[4] *Arle-le-Blanc*] Peter Aynard, 1183–1189.

[5] *Monteregali*] William, 1183–1191.

Hoveden, 377. a. 4. Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, Lundoniis apud Westmonasterium.[1] A.D. 1189. October, and Salisbury.

Hoveden, 377. a. 6. Eodem anno, mense Octobris,[2] Resus filius Griffini, dictus rex Sub-Walliæ, venit in Angliam usque Oxenfordiam, per conductum Johannis comitis Meretoni fratris regis Ricardi. Et quia rex Angliæ noluit ei occurrere, indignatus est, et rediit in terram suam sine colloquio regis. (Oct. 22.) Rhys ap Griffin comes to Oxford, but Richard refuses to meet him.

Hoveden, 377. a. 40. Eodem anno, mense Novembris,[3] Gaufridus Eboracensis electus, per mandatum regis Ricardi fratris sui, ivit contra Willelmum regem Scotiæ usque ad aquam de Thewdam, cum comitibus et baronibus Eboracensis syriæ; et ibi recepit eum in conductum, et perduxit in Angliam usque ad Cantuariam ad regem, administrans ei necessaria secundum consuetudinem prædecessorum suorum. November. Geoffrey is sent to conduct the king of Scotland to Canterbury.

Hoveden, 377. a. 9. Eodem mense Novembri,[4] Johannes cardinalis applicuit in Angliam apud Dover; et prohibitum fuit ei ex parte Alienor reginæ, ne ulterius procederet, nisi per mandatum regis filii sui; et ita factum est. John of Anagni lands.

Hoveden, 377. a. 14. Eodem mense Ricardus rex venit Cantuariam,[5] et fecit[6] pacem et finalem concordiam inter Baldewinum archiepiscopum et monachos Sanctæ Trinitatis Cantuariæ in hunc modum; quod Rogerus prior,[7] quem prædictus archiepiscopus contra voluntatem eorum fecerat, Richard visits Canterbury, and makes peace between Baldwin and the monks.

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[1] Oct. 22. R. de Diceto, 649.

[2] During October, Richard's charters are dated at Westminster on the 6th, 7th, 9th, and 10th; at Arundel on the 14th; and at Winchester on the 17th and 22nd.

[3] Richard's charters of November are dated, at Westminster on the 8th, 9th, 12th, 14th, 15th, and 18th. At S. Edmund's, where he went on pilgrimage, and kept the feast of the saint, (*Itiner. R. Ric.*, p. 145,) on the 18th, 19th, and 20th; at Westminster again on the 25th; and at Canterbury from Nov. 26th downwards.

[4] Nov. 20, Diceto, 649. Cf. Epp. Cantuar., 321.

[5] Nov. 27, Gervase, 1558. There is a grant of Richard printed in the Fœdera, i. 49, dated Nov. 26, at Canterbury.

[6] Dec. 1, Epp. Cantuar., 323. Nov. 29, R. de Diceto, 649. Nov. 28, Gervase, 1559. Probably the decision was arrived at on the 28th, and the deed executed on the 1st of December.

[7] Roger Norreys.

A.D. 1189. December. Roger Norreys made abbot of Evesham.

deponeretur; et capella quam idem archiepiscopus in suburbio construxerat prosterneretur; et prædicti monachi facerent eidem archiepiscopo canonicam obedientiam et subjectionem, secundum regulam Sancti Benedicti, sicut facere consueverant prædecessoribus suis. Et ita factum est. Et dominus rex Ricardus ad petitionem Cantuariensis archiepiscopi dedit præfato priori deposito abbatiam de Evesham. Hoveden, 377. a. 16,

Huic autem paci et finali concordiæ interfuerunt rex Ricardus et Alienor regina mater ejus, et fere omnes episcopi, abbates et priores Angliæ, qui omnes sigilla sua apposuerunt scripto illi in quo prædicta continebatur concordia.[1] Hoveden, 377. a. 28.

Arrival of the king of Scotland and earl of Huntingdon at Canterbury.

Eodem anno, mense Decembri,[2] apud Cantuariam, in crastino hujus pacis et concordiæ, Willelmus rex Scottorum, et David frater ejus, et Gaufridus Eboracensis electus venerunt ad regem Angliæ. Et rex Scottorum fecit ei homagium pro dignitatibus suis habendis in Anglia, sicut reges Scottorum prædecessores sui habere solebant temporibus regum Angliæ. Ricardus vero rex Angliæ reddidit ei castellum de Rochesburc, et castellum de Berewic libera et absoluta; et eum et omnes hæredes suos quietos clamavit in perpetuum ab ipso et regibus Angliæ de omni ligantia et subjectione de regno Scotiæ. Et pro hac redemptione castellorum suorum, et quieta clamantia fidelitatis et ligantiæ de regno Scotiæ, et pro carta regis inde habenda, Willelmus rex Scottorum dedit Ricardo regi Angliæ decem millia marcarum sterlingorum. Hoveden, 377. a. 41.

Richard restores to Scotland, Roxburgh and Berwick, and releases the king from his allegiance. (Dec. 5.)

fo. 146 r°.

John of Anagni is solemnly received at Canterbury.

Eodem mense Johannes Cardinalis, apostolicæ sedis legatus, venit Cantuariam per mandatum regis, et a rege et ab archiepiscopis et episcopis cum sollemni processione receptus in ecclesia Sanctæ Trinitatis Can- Hoveden, 377. a. 37, shorter.

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[1] Hoveden gives the names of the witnesses to the final agreement.

[2] If the date of the final decision of the king in the Hakington case is right, the king of Scotland must have arrived at Canterbury on the 2nd of December.

Hoveden, 377. a. 37. tuariæ, indigne ferebat quod in absentia ejus, qui ad litem illam dirimendam a latere summi pontificis missus erat in Angliam, pax et concordia facta esset inter Cantuariensem archiepiscopum et monachos Sanctæ Trinitatis. A.D. 1189. December.

Hoveden, 377. b. 42. Eodem mense Ricardus rex Angliæ dedit Johanni fratri suo in augmentum, comitatum Cornubiæ, et comitatum Devoniæ, et comitatum de Dorseta, et comitatum de Sumerseta. Et idem rex dedit ibidem Alienor reginæ matri suæ, totum dodarium quod rex Henricus avus patris sui dederat Matildi reginæ uxori suæ, et totum dodarium quod rex Stephanus dederat Aliciæ reginæ uxori suæ, et totum dodarium quod Henricus pater suus dederat ei.

Richard gives to John four counties; and to Eleanor the dower of three queens.

Hoveden, 377. b. 34. Eodem die ibidem, Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus et Hubertus Salesbiriensis episcopus appellaverunt Gaufridum Eboracensem electum ad sedem apostolicam, coram prædicto cardinali et apostolicæ sedis legato, et coram omnibus supradictis archiepiscopis et episcopis, [et] abbatibus; dicentes eum non fuisse canonice electum quia ipsi aberant quando ipse eligebatur. Et Buccardus Eboracensis thesaurarius, et Henricus ejusdem ecclesiæ decanus, appellaverunt eum ad sedem apostolicam, dicentes quod ipse homicida erat, et in adulterio genitus, et de scorto natus; et ideo non esset dignus promoveri ad summum sacerdotii gradum. Et quamvis omnes adversarentur illi, tamen prædictus Anagninus cardinalis electionem de illo factam ratam habuit; et eam auctoritate qua fungebatur, vice Clementis summi pontificis affirmavit; et sigilli sui munimine corroboravit.[1]

The bishop of Durham and Hubert Walter appeal against the election of Geoffrey.

The dean and treasurer of York appeal against him as a bastard and homicide, but the legate confirms him.

Quibus peractis, dominus rex dedit Alienor reginæ matri suæ, et Johanni comiti de Meretona fratri suo, et Willelmo regi Scottorum, et universis clero et populo licentiam repatriandi. Et unusquisque reversus est in regionem suam magnificans et laudans magnalia regis.

The council breaks up.

[1] The act was confirmed by pope Clement III., March 7, 1190. R. de Dic., 653.

A.D. 1189. Dec. 5. Richard goes to Dover.

Et ipse vero rex, quinta die Decembris, feria tertia,[1] recessit a Cantuaria, et profectus est usque Doveram ad transfretandum; ubi multæ naves per mandatum illius venerant de diversis partibus Angliæ. Hoveden, 377. b. 47.

Dec. 6. Benediction of Roger, abbot of Selby.

In crastino autem adventus sui ad Doveram, Rogerus electus ad abbatiam Sancti Germani de Selebi, recepit apud Doveram, die Sancti Nicolai, benedictionem suam ab Hugone Dunelmensi episcopo per præceptum regis, contra prohibitionem Gaufridi Eboracensis electi. Hoveden, 377. b. 50.

Geoffrey buys the king's good-will with three thousand pounds, and Richard restores to him all his father's gifts; granting also great privileges to the see of York.

Videns igitur Gaufridus Eboracensis electus, quod nisi mediante pecunia ipse amorem regis fratris sui nullatenus habere posset, promisit ei tria millia librarum esterlingorum pro amore ejus habendo. Et rex reddidit ei archiepiscopatum Eboracensem, et carta sua confirmavit. Et reddidit ei omnes laicos feudos quos Henricus rex pater suus illi dederat citra mare et ultra; scilicet villam de Wicumba cum pertinentiis suis; et in Normannia comitatum Giffardi; et in Andegavia honorem de Baugi cum pertinentiis. Et idem rex clamavit Deo et Sancto Petro Eboraci, et eidem Gaufrido Eboracensi electo, et omnibus archiepiscopis ei successuris, omnes terras suas, et canonicorum suorum, quietas in perpetuum de rewardo forestæ, et ab omnibus aliis exigentiis et gravaminibus forestæ et forestariorum. Et liberam potestatem dedit ei, et carta sua confirmavit licentiam capiendi venationem per omnes præbendas suas in Eboraci et Notinham syriis. Hoveden, 377. b. 52. fo. 146 v°.

The appeals against him are withdrawn, and he confirms the dean and treasurer.

Præterea Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus, et Walterus episcopus,[2] et Henricus Eboracensis ecclesiæ decanus, et Buccardus thesaurarius, per præceptum regis remiserunt appellationes quas fecerant contra Eboracensem electum. Et ipse Eboracensis electus ad petitionem regis confirmavit prædicto Henrico decanatum Eboraci, et Buccardo the-

[1] *tertia*] quarta, B. J.; tertia, Hoveden, rightly. In this passage Brompton agrees with our MS., although he has placed the Scottish charter in the same place as Hoveden.

[2] Hubert Walter. Cf. Hoveden.

Hoveden, 378. a. 13. | A.D. 1189. December. He confirms the privileges of Hugh of Durham.

saurariam. Et Hugoni Dunelmensi episcopo confirmavit privilegia sua, et conventiones quæ fuerunt inter ipsum et Rogerum Eboracensem archiepiscopum, promittens quod ipse omnia confirmaret sigillo consecrationis suæ.

Hoveden, 378. a. 15. | Dec. 11. Richard crosses over to Calais.

Deinde Ricardus rex Angliæ xi°. die Decembris,[1] in vigilia Sanctæ Luciæ virginis et martyris transfretavit a Dovera usque Kalais in Flandriam. Et ibi recepit eum Philippus comes Flandriæ cum gaudio, et perduxit usque Normanniam. Cum rege vero transfretaverunt Johannes Anagninus cardinalis, Walterus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, Henricus Bajocensis et Johannes Ebroicensis episcopi.

Hoveden, 378. a. 20, with some differences. M. Paris, 156, 12. | He leaves Hugh of Durham justiciar, with William Longchamp as chancellor.

Et rex dimisit post se in Anglia Hugonem Dunelmensem episcopum totius Angliæ summum justitiarium; et Willelmum Eliensem episcopum cancellarium suum, Hugonem Bardolf, et Willelmum Bruer[2] constituit collegas prædicti Dunelmensis episcopi in justitiis faciendis. Et tradidit prædicto cancellario suo, unum sigillorum suorum ad mandata sua facienda in regno, et tradidit illi turrim Lundoniarum in custodia; et Hugoni Dunelmensi episcopo castellum de Windeshoveres cum forestis et comitatu. Sed idem Dunelmensis moleste ferebat quod alius quam ille habebat turrim Lundoniarum; et statim animadvertit ipsum factum fuisse justitiarium non zelo justitiæ, sed ut pecunia sua ab illo extorqueretur. Et ita factum est; ipse enim et cancellarius in paucis unanimes exstiterunt; nec mirum, "omnis" namque "potestas"

Hugh is jealous of the chancellor.

Lucan, Pharsalia, i. 92.

"Impatiens consortis erit."

Hoveden, 378. a. 30. | Death of the king of Sicily.

Eodem anno, mense Novembris, Willelmus rex Siciliæ et ducatus Apuliæ, et principatus Capuæ, qui Johannam

[1] The 12th of December was the eve of S. Lucy. Hoveden places the day of sailing on Monday, the 11th. R. de Diceto makes the king land at Gravelines on the 14th.

[2] Hoveden adds William Marshall and Geoffrey Fitz Peter to the number of associates.

A.D. 1189. He leaves his dominions to his aunt Constance, wife of Henry, king of the Germans.

filiam Henrici regis Angliæ et sororem regis Ricardi in uxorem duxerat, obiit[1] in Sicilia in nobili civitate Panormi sine prole. Qui etiam fere quindecim annis ante obitum suum constituit Constantiam, filiam Rogeri primi regis Siciliæ coronati avi sui, hæredem post se in regno suo [si] sine prole decessisset. Et fecit omnes principes regni, tam clericos quam laicos, jurare fidelitates prædictæ Constantiæ contra omnes homines, salva fidelitate sua. Deinde dedit eam in uxorem Henrico regi Alemannorum, filio Frederici imperatoris Romanorum. Hoveden, 378. a. 31.

Tancred, count of Lecce, usurps the crown of Sicily.

Defuncto autem prædicto Willelmo rege Siciliæ, Tanchredus comes de Lalithe,[2] filius fratris patris jam dicti Willelmi, regnum Siciliæ sibi usurpavit, transgressus sacramentum quod fecerat prænominatæ Constantiæ. Hoveden, 378. a. 35.

Richard releases the king of Scotland from his allegiance. Dec. 5. He restores Roxburgh and Berwick.

Eodem anno, antequam rex Ricardus ab Anglia egrederetur versus Jerosolimam, quietum clamavit Willelmum regem Scottorum de omni subjectione quam Henricus rex Angliæ pater suus ab eo per captionem suam extorserat, et fecit ei inde cartam suam in hunc modum.

"Ricardus,[3] Dei gratia rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et "Aquitanniæ, comes Andegaviæ, archiepiscopis, episcopis, "abbatibus, comitibus et baronibus, justitiis, vicecomitibus, et "omnibus ministris[4] et fidelibus suis totius Angliæ, salutem. "Sciatis nos[5] consanguineo nostro Willelmo[6] regi Scottorum "reddidisse castella sua Rokesburc et Berewic, tanquam ejus[7] "jure hæreditario ab eo et hæredibus[8] in perpetuum possidenda. "Præterea quietavimus ei omnes consuetudines et[9] pactiones Hoveden, 377. b. 1. fo. 147 r°.

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[1] Nov. 16.

[2] Tancred, count of Lecce; king of Sicily, 1189–1194.

[3] This is printed in the Fœdera, i. 50, from the original in the Treasury of Receipt of the Exchequer, collated here under the signature O., mere transpositions excepted.

[4] *ministris*] ballivis, O.

[5] *nos*] carissimo, ins. O. H.

[6] *Willelmo*] eadem gratia, ins. O. H.

[7] *ejus*] propria, O. H.

[8] *hæredibus*] ejus, ins. O.; suis, ins. H.

[9] *consuetudines et*] om. O.; conventiones, H.

Hoveden 377. b. 9.

"quas bonæ memoriæ[1] pater meus[2] Henricus rex[3] per novas "cartas et per captionem suam extorsit. Ita scilicet[4] ut mihi[5] "faciat integre et plenarie, quod[6] rex Scottorum Malcholmus "frater ejus antecessoribus nostris fecit de jure et de jure facere "debuerit.[7] Et nos faciemus[8] ei quicquid antecessores nostri "prædicto Malcolmo de jure fecerunt et facere debuerunt; "scilicet in conductu[9] veniendo ad curiam, et redeundo a curia, "et in morando in curia, et in procurationibus et in omnibus "libertatibus, dignitatibus et honoribus ejusdem jure debitis; "secundum quod recognoscetur a quatuor proceribus nostris ab "ipso Willelmo rege electis, et a quatuor proceribus illius a "nobis electis. Si autem fines sive[10] marchias regni Scotiæ "aliquis nostrorum hominum postquam rex prædictus Willel-"mus a patre nostro captus fuit,[11] usurpaverit, absque judicio,[12] "volumus ut integre restituantur, et ad eum statum reducantur, "quo erant ante ejus captionem. Præterea de terris suis quas "habet[13] in Anglia, seu dominicis seu feudis, scilicet in comi-"tatu Huntedoniæ et in omnibus aliis, in ea libertate et "plenitudine[14] possideat, et hæredes ejus in perpetuum, qua[15] "Malcolmus possedit vel possidere debuit, nisi prædictus[16] "Malcolmus vel hæredes sui aliquid postea[17] infeodaverint. Ita "tamen quod siqua[18] postea infeodata sunt, ipsorum feodorum "servitia ad eum vel[19] hæredes ejus pertineant. Et siquid[20] "pater noster prædicto[21] Willelmo regi donaverit,[22] ratum et "firmum habere volumus.[23] Reddidimus etiam[24] ligantias ho-"minum suorum[25] et omnes cartas quas dominus[26] pater noster "de eo habuit per captionem suam. Et si aliquæ aliæ[27] forte "per oblivionem retentæ aut inventæ fuerint, eas penitus viribus

A.D. 1189. Dec. 5.

The king of Scotland is to be freed from the submission extorted by Henry II.

All encroachments on Scotland made since William's captivity are restored.

The possessions of William in England confirmed, and the homage of the Scottish nobles given up.

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[1] *bonæ memoriæ*] bonus, O.

[2] *meus*] noster, O. Richard I. is said to have been the first king of England who spoke of himself in the plural number. Brompton here follows Hoveden.

[3] *rex*] Angliæ, ins. O. H.

[4] *scilicet*] videlicet, O. H.

[5] *mihi*] nobis, O. H.

[6] *quod*] quicquid, O.

[7] *debuerit*] debuit, O. H.

[8] *faciemus*] faciamus, O. H.

[9] *in conductu*] de conductu in, O.

[10] *fines sive*] om. O.

[11] *fuit*] injuste, O.

[12] *absque judicio*] om. O.

[13] *habet*] haberet, O. H.

[14] *plenitudine*] consuetudine, O.

[15] *qua*] præfatus rex, ins. O.

[16] *prædictus*] rex, ins. O.

[17] *postea*] forte, O.

[18] *qua*] aliqua, O.

[19] *vel*] et ad, O.

[20] *siquid*] terram quam, O.

[21] *prædicto*] præscripto, O.

[22] *donaverit*] donavit, O.

[23] *ratum . . . volumus*] in eadem libertate qua ipsam ei dedit, ipsum et hæredes suos perpetuo possidere volumus. O.

[24] *etiam*] ei, ins. O.

[25] *suorum*] quas pater noster receperat, O.

[26] *dominus*] om. O.

[27] *aliquæ aliæ*] quæ, O.

A.D. 1189. Dec. 5. "carere præcipimus. Ipse autem[1] ligius homo noster devenit[2] "de omnibus terris de quibus antecessores sui ligii homines "antecessorum nostrorum fuerunt, et nobis fidelitatem juravit "et hæredibus nostris. Valete."[3] Hoveden, 377. b. 27.

fo. 148 r°. Richard keeps Christmas at Bur.

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini M°C°XC°, Ricardus rex Angliæ fuit in Normannia apud Burum[4] die Nativitatis Dominicæ, quæ secunda feria evenit; et tenuit ibi sollemne festum cum primatibus terræ illius. Erat enim Nativitas illa Dominica proxima post coronationem suam. Hoveden, 378. a. 45. M. Paris, 156, 43.

Conference between Richard and Philip.

Et post Natale Domini prædictus rex Ricardus habuit colloquium cum Philippo rege Franciæ ad vadum Sancti Remigii,[5] ubi pacem firmam statuerunt inter se Hoveden, 378. a. 48. M. Paris, 156, 45.

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[1] *Ipse autem*] Sæpe dictus vero W. rex, O.

[2] *devenit*] deveniat, O.

[3] Ut autem ratum et firmum sit istud et perpetuum, præsenti carta et sigillo nostro id roboravimus. Testibus, Baldewino Cantuar. et Waltero Rothomag. et J. Dublinen. archiepiscopis; Hugone Dunelmen. Hugone Lincolnien., Godefrido Wintonien., Huberto Saresberien., Reginaldo Bathonien. episcopis; domino Johanne fratre nostro, R. comite Leicestriæ, H. comite de Waren'., H. Bardolf, Steph. de Longo Campo dapifero nostro, et aliis multis, v. die Decembris. Dat. per manum W. Elyen. electi, cancellarii nostri, apud Cantuar., regni nostri anno primo. O.

Hoveden gives the names of the witnesses differently: the archbishops of Canterbury and Rouen; the bishops of Durham, Norwich, Salisbury, Lincoln, Winchester, Rochester, Bath, Coventry, and Worcester; John and Eleanor, "cum multis aliis."

[4] *Burum*] The *Itinerarium*, ii. 6, makes Richard spend Christmas at Lions-la-Forêt. Bur is near Bayeux, and certainly a long way from Lions. See R. de Monte, ad ann. 1170, &c.

[5] Near Nonancourt, v. vol. i. p. 272. The *Itinerarium* places the first conference at Dreux. Probably the Gué S. Remi was chosen as equidistant from both. Wilken Geschichte der Kreuzzüge, iv. 148, 149, distinguishes between the conference of Nonancourt and that of Dreux, placing the latter on the 15th of March, on which day the queen of France died. But there were really three conferences, all probably at Gué S. Remi: (1) Dec. 30, in which the treaty described in the text was drawn up. This date is given in the copy of the treaty in the Fœdera, i. 50: "Acta sunt hæc "xxx. die Decembris apud Nonan- "curt.;" but as it was made on a Saturday, it was thought to require confirmation. (2) Jan. 13, in which the treaty was confirmed, as in the text; and (3) that of March 15, on which day queen Isabella died. That this was held in the same place appears from a charter of Richard, dated March 14, at Nonancourt. Fœd. i. 51. Between Dec. 30 and Jan. 13 the king was at Verneuil. (*Mon. Angl.* vi. 1115.)

Hoveden, 378. a. 50. M. Paris, 156, 46.

A.D. 1190. Jan. 13. Confirmation of the agreement for the period of the crusade.

et regna sua. Et ipsi eam scriptis commendatam sacramento et sigillis suis confirmaverunt in festo Sancti Hilarii. Et archiepiscopi et episcopi utriusque regni in verbo veritatis, et comites et barones regnorum præstito sacramento juraverunt quod ipsi pacem illam fideliter tenerent et servarent illibatam. Erat autem hæc forma pacis: Quod uterque illorum honorem alterius servaret, et fidem ei portaret de vita et membris et terreno honore suo. Et quod neuter illorum alteri deficeret in negotiis suis; sed rex Franciæ ita juvaret regem Angliæ ad terram suam defendendam, ac si ille vellet civitatem suam Parisius defendere si esset obsessa. Et rex Angliæ juvaret regi Franciæ ac si vellet ipse civitatem suam Rotomagi defendere, si obsessa esset. Comites autem et barones utriusque regni juraverunt, quod a fidelitate regum non discederent nec guerram moverent ullam in terris illorum quamdiu ipsi fuerint in peregrinatione sua. Archiepiscopi vero et episcopi firmiter promiserunt in verbo veritatis quod in transgressores hujus pacis et conventionis sententiam excommunicationis darent. Præterea prædicti reges statuerunt, quod si alter eorum decessisset in illa peregrinatione, alter qui supervixerit pecunias defuncti haberet et homines ad servitium Dei faciendum. Et quia ad præfixum terminum parati esse non poterant, iter suum Jerosolimitanum arripere, distulerunt illud usque ad festum Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, statuentes quod tunc immutabiliter essent apud Wizeliacum.

Hoveden, 378. b. 33.

February. The queen and bishops go to Normandy.

Eodem anno, post Purificationem beatæ Dei genitricis Mariæ, Alienor regina mater regis Ricardi, et Alays soror Philippi regis Franciæ, et Baldewinus[1] Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et Johannes Norwicensis episcopus; Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus; Godefridus Wintoniensis episcopus; Reinaldus Batoniensis episcopus;

[1] Baldwin sailed March 6. Gervase, 1564.

A.D. 1190. March. Council in Normandy.

Willelmus Eliensis episcopus; Hubertus Salesberiensis episcopus; Hugo Cestrensis episcopus; Gaufridus Eboracensis electus et frater regis Ricardi; et Johannes comes Meretonii frater regis, transfretaverunt de Anglia in Normanniam per mandatum regis. Et habito cum illis consilio, dominus rex statuit Willelmum Elyensem episcopum cancellarium suum, summum justitiarium Angliæ. Et concessit Hugoni Dunelmensi episcopo justitiariam a flumine Humbri usque ad terram regis Scotiæ. Et [fecit] Gaufridum Eboracensem electum et Johannem comitem Moretanii fratres suos jurare quod Angliam non intrarent ab illa hora ante annos tres præteritos, nisi per licentiam illius. Sed postmodum, per consilium Alienor reginæ matris suæ, relaxavit Johanni fratri suo sacramentum quod fecerat, et dedit ei licentiam redeundi in Angliam. Et misit in Angliam Willelmum justitiarium suum, scilicet Eliensem episcopum cancellarium suum, ad præparandum sibi et itineri suo necessaria. Et rex cum nunciis prædicti Eliensis epicopi, misit nuncios suos ad Clementem summum pontificem, et obtinuit ad opus illius legationem[1] totius Angliæ. Venit igitur cancellarius ille in Angliam, et fecit turrim Lundoniarum circumdari profundissimo fossato, sperans quod Tamesis fluvius per fossatum illud transiret. Deinde cepit ad opus regis de unaquaque civitate Angliæ duos palefridos et duos sumarios de auxilio; et de unaquaque abbatia Angliæ unum palefridum, et unum sumarium; et de unoquoque proprio manerio regis unum palefridum et unum sumarium.

Hoveden, 378. b. 37.

William Longchamp is made justiciar of England; and Hugh of Durham in the North.

Geoffrey and John swear not to return to England for three years; but John is released from the oath.

fo. 148 v°.

William Longchamp's tyrannical conduct in England.

M. Paris, 157, 45.

[1] Longchamp's commission as legate is dated June 5, 1190. R. de Diceto, 655.

De miserabili occisione Judæorum apud Eboracum. A.D. 1190. March 16.

Hoveden, 379. a. 1. M. Paris, 157, 30.

Eodem anno, mense Martio,[1] xvii°. kalendas Aprilis, Dominica in Ramis Palmarum, Judæi civitatis Eboraci numero quingenti, viri ac mulieres exceptis parvulis, timentes impetum Christianorum, incluserunt se infra turrim Eboraci consensu et voluntate custodis ejusdem turris et vicecomitis. Qua cum idem vicecomes et custos turris recepissent, Judæi noluerunt eis illam tradere, unde vicecomes et custos turris valde indignati sunt; et in quantum poterant hortabantur milites comitatus et homines civitatis, ut turrim liberarent a Judæis illis. Qui cum insultum fecissent in turrim die ac nocte, Judæi obtulerunt pecuniam magnam oppido pro vita habenda; et noluit populus recipere. Tunc surrexit quidam legisperitus et ait, "Viri Israelitæ, audite consilium meum. Melius est nobis "nobis mori pro lege nostra, quam incidere in manus "inimicorum legis nostræ; et illud idem præcepit lex "nostra." Omnes igitur Judæi, tam viri quam mulieres, assensum præbuerunt consilio illi. Et accedens unusquisque paterfamilias cum novaculo acuto inprimis inciderunt guttura uxorum et filiorum et filiarum suarum; deinde totius familiæ suæ. Et projecerunt mortuos suos quos sacrificaverant dæmoniis extra muros turris super populum. Cæteros autem interfectos et seipsos incluserunt in domo regia; et apposito igne seipsos et domos regis combusserunt. Hæc autem interfectio Judæorum facta fuit in civitate Eboraci anno M°C°XC°., feria sexta ante Dominicam Palmarum. Deinde cives Eboraci et milites comitatus combusserunt domos Judæorum, et possessiones eorum diripiebant sibi, et cartas universorum debitorum combusserunt.

The Jews of York shut themselves up in a tower for fear of persecution.

They are besieged by the sheriff.

They murder their wives and children, and burn themselves in the tower.

The men of York plunder their houses.

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[1] *Martio*] Februario, B. The day meant is evidently the Friday before Palm Sunday, March 16.

A.D. 1190. March. The queen of France dies.

Eodem anno obiit Isabel regina Franciæ, filia comitis de Enou, antequam rex Franciæ iter Jerosolimitanum arripuisset.[1] Hoveden, 379. a. 21.

March 25. Easter.

Eodem anno, Annunciatio Dominica evenit in ipso die Paschæ, quod a multis retro temporibus inauditum est.[2] Hoveden, 379. a. 23.

The bishop of Ely is made legate, and becomes all-powerful in England.

Interim nuncii Willelmi Eliensis episcopi et domini regis redierunt a summo pontifice, per quos summus pontifex in mandatis dederat quod tota ecclesia esset subjecta in ecclesiasticis causis Willelmo Eliensi episcopo, sanctæ Romanæ sedis legato. Auctoritate igitur legationis suæ prædictus Eliensis episcopus et domini regis cancellarius, et totius Angliæ justitiarius, clerum et populum opprimebat, confundens fasque nefasque: nec erat in regno qui ausus est resistere ei neque in verbo neque in opere. Hoveden, 379. a. 24.

April. He goes to York, and removes the sheriff, and arrests the persecutors of the Jews.

fo. 149 r°.

Post Pascha,[3] prædictus regis cancellarius, magno congregato exercitu, Eboracum venit ad malefactores illos comprehendendos qui Judæos civitatis destruxerunt: et cognito quod per præceptum vicecomitis et custodem turris hoc factum fuisset; utrumque deposuit, et a civibus civitatis obsides cepit de fide et pace servanda regi et regno, et quod juri starent in curia domini regis de morte Judæorum. Milites autem provinciæ præcepit comprehendere, qui ad destructionem Judæorum erant. Clericos vero ecclesiæ Eboraci, et ipsam metropolitanam sub interdicto posuit, quia noluerunt eum recipere sicut apostolicæ sedis legatum, neque cum processione neque cum sonitu campanarum. Et campanas ejusdem ecclesiæ in terram deponere fecit, et canonicos et vicarios ejusdem ecclesiæ tamdiu sub Hoveden, 379. a. 30.

He places the church under an interdict.

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[1] Isabella died March 15, 1190. Rigord.

[2] Not since the year 1117.

[3] The chancellor was in Normandy as late as March 27, which was Easter Tuesday, on which day he dates a charter at Lions. Fœd. i. 51.

Hoveden, 379. a. 40. interdicto arctius tenuit donec omnes ad eum venirent ad satisfactionem. A.D. 1190.

Hoveden, 379. a. 42, shorter. Interim[1] dominus rex dedit Hugoni Dunelmensi episcopo licentiam redeundi in Angliam, et mandavit cancellario quod concesserat eidem Dunelmensi episcopo justitiariam a flumine Humbri usque ad terram regis Scotiæ, a mari usque ad mare, in longitudinem et latitudinem. Qui cum in Angliam venisset, et obviasset cancellario in villa de Blya redeunti de civitate Eboraci, tradidit illi litteras domini regis. Quibus cancellarius respondit se facturum libenter mandatum domini regis; et protrahens eum de die in diem, duxit eum secum usque Lundonias; et injiciens manus in eum tenuit donec ille reddidisset ei castellum de Windeshovers et comitatum cum forestis, et Novum Castellum super Tynam cum comitatu; et manerium de Saberga quod rex Sancto Cuthberto in perpetuum dederat. Insuper et idem episcopus dedit Henricum de Puteaco filium suum, et Gillebertum de Leya obsides, quod pacem servaret regi et regno ejus. Ita his peractis, episcopus Dunelmensis per licentiam cancellarii a Lundoniis recedens venit ad villam suam quæ dicitur Hovendena; ubi cum moram fecisset, Willelmus de Stutevil, et vicecomes Eboraci[2] venerunt ad eum ex parte cancellarii, et prohibuerunt eum ne ulterius procederet nisi per licentiam ipsius vel domini regis. Episcopus vero data securitate quod ulterius non pro-

The bishop of Durham returns to England; he meets the chancellor at Blythe, and is taken by him to London, where he is forced to surrender Windsor, Newcastle and Sadberge, and to give hostages for peace.

He goes northwards to Howden, and is forbidden to proceed.

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[1] There are two charters of Richard dated at Reole in Aquitaine, one Feb. 2, in Martene and Durand, *Thesaurus*, i. 637; the other Feb. 3, quoted by Dr. Prutz in his life of Henry the Lion, from *Origines Guelficæ*, iii. 731. Richard's movements, so far as they can be discovered from the charters in the Fœdera, were during March confined to Normandy. He was at Nonancourt March 14; at Rouen March 20, 22, 24; at Lions March 27. The bishop of Durham was with him at Lions on that day. On the 20th of April the king was at Saumur. (*Mon. Angl.*, vi. 638.)

[2] Osbert of Longchamp, the chancellor's brother, (Hoveden, 379. a. 35,) whom he had just made sheriff.

A.D. 1190. He complains to the king, who orders Newcastle and Sadberge to be restored.

cederet ibidem remansit; et mittens nuncios suos ad regem significavit ei omnia quæ cancellarius ei fecerat. Hoveden, 379. b. 1.

Unde rex iratus, præcepit Novum Castellum super Tynam reddi prædicto episcopo Dunelmensi, et manerium de Sadberga cum wapentac et feodis militum; et iterum cartam suam fecit ei inde. Hoveden, 380. a. 17.

Richard appoints justiciars of his fleet.

Interim Ricardus rex[1] per consilium archiepiscoporum et episcoporum, comitum et baronum suorum, elegit Girardum archiepiscopum Auxiensem,[2] et Bernardum episcopum de Baonia,[3] et Robertum de Sablol, et Ricardum de Chamvil, et Willelmum de Forz de Olrun; et constituit eos justitiarios super totum navigium suum, scilicet Angliæ et Normanniæ, Pictaviæ et Britanniæ, quod in terram Jerosolimitanam iturum erat; et tradidit illis cartam suam in hac forma: Hoveden, 379. b. 4. M. Paris, 158, 50.

Richard's laws for his crusading fleet.

"Ricardus, Dei gratia, etc., omnibus hominibus suis Jerosolimam per mare ituris, salutem. Sciatis nos de communi proborum virorum consilio has fecisse justitias subscriptas. Hoveden, 379. b. 10. M. Paris, 158, 54.

Murderers to be drowned or buried alive.

"Qui hominem in navi interfecerit, cum mortuo ligatus projiciatur in mari. Si autem in terra interfecerit, cum mortuo ligatus in terra infodiatur.

fo. 149 v°. Bloodshed punished by mutilation; a bloodless blow by dipping in the sea.

"Si quis autem per legitimos testes convictus fuerit, quod cultellum suum ad alium percutiendum extraxerit, aut qui alium ad sanguinem percusserit, pugnum perdat. Si autem de palma percusserit sine effusione sanguinis tribus vicibus mergatur in mari.

Abusive language by a fine.

"Si quis autem socio opprobrium et convicia aut odium Dei injecerit, quot vicibus conviciatus fuerit, tot uncias argenti det.

Thieves to be tarred and feathered.

"Latro autem de furto convictus tondeatur ad similitudinem campionis, et pix bulliens super caput ejus effundatur, et pluma pulvinaris super caput ejus excutiatur ad cognoscen-

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[1] Hoveden places these acts at Chinon, whither the king had returned after a visit to Gascony, during which he had taken the castle of William de Chisi, and hanged him. Hoveden, 379. b. 3. Richard was at Bayonne on the 6th of June. R. de Diceto, 655. He was at Chinon June 20, Tours on the 24th and 25th of June. Fœd. i. 48.

[2] Gerard de la Barte, archbishop of Auch.

[3] Bernard de la Carra, bishop of Bayonne.

Hoveden, 379. b. 24. A.D. 1190. June.

"dum eum, et in prima terra qua naves applicuerint, projiciatur. Teste meipso apud Chinonem."[1]

Hoveden, 379. b. 25, shorter. M. Paris, 159, 7.

Item idem rex Ricardus præcepit in alio brevi suo, quod omnes homines sui per mare Jerosolimam ituri essent obedientes præceptis et consiliis prædictorum justitiariorum navium suorum, sicut semetipsos et reditum eorum in terris suis diligerent, et ut supradictas assisas suas jurassent se fideliter servaturos.

M. Paris, 159, 8. The fleet is ordered to sail.

Deinde præcepit rex prædictis justitiariis navigii sui, ut iter arripuissent quam citius possent; et fecerunt sicut præceperat rex.

Hoveden, 379. b. 29. M. Paris 159, 10. July 4. The kings meet at Vezelai.

Rex autem et Philippus rex Franciæ venerunt ad Wizeliacum,[2] ubi sanctissimum corpus beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ requiescit; et ibi moram fecerunt per duos dies in octavis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ.

Richard receives the scrip and staff.

Rex vero Angliæ ibi[3] recepit peram et baculum signa peregrinationis suæ. Et rex Franciæ ante recessum suum de terra sua receperat baculum et peram in ecclesia Sancti Dionysii.[4]

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[1] The exact date of this document must be before the 24th of June, perhaps about the 20th, on which day the king was at Chinon. (Stapleton, *Rolls of Norman Exch.*, i. cxlv.) On that day Richard was at Tours, as also on the 25th. On the 26th he probably set out for Vezelai. The *Itinerarium* gives the stages of his journey as follows: (1) Azai; (2) Montrichard, where he was on the 27th of June, Fœd. i. 48; (3) Celles; (4) La Chapelle; (5) Danzi, where he was on the 1st of July,—Fœd. i. 48, and *Mon. Angl.*, i. 485; (6) Vezelai, where he was on July 3, (*Mon. Angl.*, vi. 326,) where Philip met him on the 4th of July. Rigord, 186.

[2] The kings met at Vezelai on the 4th of July, (not the 11th, as I have wrongly stated in the *Itinerarium*, p. cxviii). Rigord, 186.

[3] Hoveden places Richard's reception of the scrip and staff at Tours before the journey to Vezelai, adding that he received them from William archbishop of Tours: but the archbishop of Tours was Bartholomew. Richard did, however, start from Tours (*Itiner.* ii. 7); and at Tours, according to Richard of Devizes, the two kings had a conference before going to Vezelai.

[4] June 24, Rigord, 186. M. Paris, having the text before him, confounds apparently the investiture of Richard with that of Philip; "et rex Anglorum ibi peram recepit et baculum in ecclesia Sancti Dionysii," p. 159.

A.D. 1190. July. The kings come to Lyons, where the bridge breaks down.

Deinde prædicti duo reges processerunt cum familiis suis inde. Et cum venissent ad civitatem Leonum supra Rodanum, et ipsi cum majore parte familiarum suarum pontem Rodani præterissent, pons ille cecidit non sine læsione virorum ac mulierum. Ibidem etiam præfati reges divisi sunt ab invicem propter nimiam hominum copiam sequentium illos; unus enim locus eos capere non potuit. Rex vero Franciæ cum suis perrexit usque ad Genuzs, et ibi naves ascendit Jerosolimam iturus. Rex autem Angliæ cum suis perrexit usque ad Marsiliam, ubi multos invenit peregrinos, qui jam propter longam moram quam ibi fecerant, totum æs suum expenderant. Et venerunt ad regem et obtulerunt ei servitia sua, de quibus rex multos retinuit.

Hoveden, 379. b. 31. M. Paris, 159, 13.

Philip goes to Genoa; Richard to Marseilles.

After staying eight days at Marseilles, he sails.

Cum vero ibidem rex per octo dies moram fecisset,[1] exspectans et sperans de die in diem adventum navigii sui, fraudatus a desiderio suo conduxit decem buccias magnas et viginti galeas bene armatas; dolens et confusus cum famulis suis intravit.

Hoveden, 380. a. 37. M. Paris, 159, 21.

August 7. Richard coasts from Marseilles to Ventimiglia.

Septimo autem die Augusti recessit rex Angliæ Ricardus a Marsilia in galea Pumbone, et transivit per insulam Sancti Stephani, per Aquilam, per Montem Nigrum, per insulam Sancti Honorati, per civitatem de Nicis, per civitatem de Witemile.[2] Et est sciendum, inter Nices et Witemile est divisio terrarum regis Arrogoniæ et Italiæ. Deinde transivit per Sanc-

Hoveden, 380. a. 41. M. Paris, 159, 24.

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[1] The stay of eight days at Marseilles, and the departure on the 7th of August, enables us to fix Richard's arrival there about the 31st of July. The author of the *Itinerarium* sailed on the 16th of August, having been three weeks at Marseilles. He must therefore have arrived about the 26th. The march from Lyons to Marseilles took fourteen days, and that from Vezelai to Lyons eight. Richard spent three days at Lyons. We get therefore the following approximate dates of Richard's movements:

1. The march from Vezelai to Lyons, July 6 to July 14.
2. Three days at Lyons, July 14 to July 17.
3. March from Lyons to Marseilles, July 17 to July 31.
4. Eight days at Marseilles, July 31 to August 7.

[2] *Witemile*] Wentimile, H.

Hoveden, 380. a. 45. tam Mariam de Funz, et per Nole; et tertiadecima die Augusti transivit per castellum quod dicitur Seune;[1] et eodem die venit ad Januam, ubi locutus est cum rege Franciæ, qui ibi infirmabatur.[2] A.D. 1190. August 13. He passes Savona, and comes to Genoa.

Hoveden, 380. a. 48. Quartadecima die Augusti venit ad portum Delfini in vigilia Assumptionis beatæ et gloriosæ Dei genitricis Mariæ; et ibi moram fecit per quinque dies. Ibi vero misit ad eum rex Franciæ, rogans ut accommodaret ei quinque galeas: rex vero Angliæ obtulit ei tres, quas rex Franciæ refutavit. fo. 150 r°. August 14. He stays five days at Portofino.

Hoveden, 380. a. 51. Nonodecimo vero die Augusti recessit rex a portu Delfini, et venit ad portum Veneris, et in crastino venit ad portum de Pysa. Et illuc venit ad eum Walterus Rotomagensis archiepiscopus; et Johannes Ebroicensis episcopus infirmabatur in civitate Pysana. August 19. Porto Venere. August 20. Pisa.

Hoveden, 380. a. 54. Vicesima prima die mensis Augusti transivit rex per insulam quæ dicitur Gurgune. August 21. Gorgona.

Hoveden, 380. a. 55. Vicesima secunda die venit ad portum de Brant.[3] August 22. Baratto.

Hoveden, 380. b. 1. Vicesima tertia die Augusti perrexit rex duas leugas per terram, et pauci milites super equos conductos, et venerunt ad portum juxta castellum quod [dicitur] Plumbin, obviam galeis. Et ibi intravit rex galeam Fulconis Rustancri,[4] quam prius non intraverat. Et vento gaudens optato, præteriit insulam[5] quæ dicitur Argentaire, et insulam quæ dicitur Genut, et venit ad portum qui dicitur Tanemunt.[6] August 23. He lands, and marches to Piombino, and thence sails to Talamone.

Hoveden, 380. b. 6. Vicesima quinta[7] die Augusti venit ad portum qui dicitur Kerlehe,[8] quæ est in media via inter Marsiliam et Messanam. Eodem die rumpebatur velum galeæ in qua rex erat; iterum ergo intravit rex galeam Pum- August 25. He comes to Porto Ercole.

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[1] *Seune*] Suwene, H.; Seone, J. Savona.

[2] *infirmabatur*] in ædibus juxta ecclesiam Sancti Laurentii. H. add.

[3] *Brant*] Barate H.; Brandiz, J.

[4] *Rustancri*] Rustac, H.

[5] *insulam*] quæ dicitur Feraire, et insulam, H.

[6] *Tanemunt*] Talemunde, H.

[7] *Vicesima quinta*] Vicesima quarta, H.

[8] *Kerlehe*] Portekere, H.

A.D. 1190. August 25. Corneto, Civita Vecchia, and Arrone.

At the mouth of the Tiber, Octavian, bishop of Ostia, meets him.

Hoveden, 380. b. 9.

bone, et præteriit civitatem Cornet, et civitatem Senes la-vele, et civitatem Laune.[1] Et postea intravit Tyberim; ad cujus introitum est turris pulcherrima sed solitaria. Sunt et ibi ruinæ maximæ murorum antiquorum. Illuc venit ad regem Octovianus Ostiensis episcopus, cui rex turpia multa, improbrando Romanis simoniam, quod septingentas marcas debuerant habere pro consecratione episcopi Cenomannensis,[2] et mille et quingentas marcas pro legatione Eliensis episcopi, et pecuniam magnam ne deponeretur Burdegalensis,[3] qui a clericis suis accusabatur de crimine.

August 26. He passes the wood of Laurentum.

Hoveden, 380. b. 16.

Vicesima sexta die Augusti transivit rex per quoddam nemus quod dicitur Selvedeme;[4] in quo est via marmorea ad modum pavimenti facta; et durat per medium nemus quater viginti[5] milliaria. Nemus vero illud abundat cervis, capreolis et damulis. Eodem die transivit per castellum quod dicitur Leicum.[6] Hic est portus qui quondam tegebatur cupro, et erat ibi introitus cryptæ, per quam pecunia undique allata Romam[7] ferebatur.

August 27. Capo Circello, Palmarola, Ponza, Terracina, Garigliano.

Hoveden, 380. b. 22.

Vicesima septima die Augusti transivit per rupem extensam in mare, quæ vocatur Le Cap de Cercel, et insulam Palmerole, et insulam Punce, et insulam Palmere, in summitate montis.[8] In summitate montis de Cap Cercel est castellum in quo latrones et piratæ se abscondunt. Deinde venit ad civitatem Daracene,[9] ubi quondam erat portus cupro tectus; postea ad Garillam; inde ad castellum quod dicitur Cap de Lespurun. Hæc est divisio terræ Romanorum et terræ regis Siciliæ, quæ dicitur terra principatus Capuæ. Deinde

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[1] *Laune*] locum qui dicitur Le far de Rume, H.

[2] Hamelin, whose consecration is placed by the authors of the *Gallia Christiana* in 1191.

[3] Helias de Malemort.

[4] *Selvedeme*] Selvedene, H.

[5] *quater viginti*] 24, H.

[6] *Leicum*] Letrum, B.; Leicum, J.

[7] *Romam*] et postea transivit rex per castellum quod dicitur Esture, H.; om. J.

[8] *in . . montis*] om. H. J.

[9] *Daracene*] Tharracene, H.; Daracene, J.

Hoveden, 380. b. 29. præteriit insulam La Pantantee.[1] La Patantee vero fuit terra Pilati, et ibi erat portus cupro tectus. Deinde præteriit rex insulam quæ dicitur Iscele majur,[2] quæ semper fumat. Hæc insula dicitur accensa fuisse ab insula quæ dicitur Bulcan, igne volante et comburente, ut dicitur, mare et pisces.[3] Deinde præteriit insulam quæ dicitur Baterun, et portum de Baie ubi sunt balnea Virgilii.[4] A.D. 1190. August 27. Vandotena, Ischia. Baiæ.

Hoveden, 380. b. 37. Vicesima octava die Augusti venit rex Neapolim, et perrexit ad abbatiam Sancti Januarii ad videndum filios Neimundi, qui stant ibi in crypta, in pellibus et ossibus. Et ibidem moram fecit usque ad Nativitatem Sanctæ Mariæ Virginis et matris Domini. Et eodem die perrexit Salernum equis conductis, et ibi fecit moram magnam. August 28. He comes to Naples, and stays there until Sept. 8. fo. 150 v°. Sept. 8. He marches to Salerno.

Hoveden, 380. b. 41. Interim Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et Hubertus Salesbiriensis episcopus, et Ranulfus de Glanvilla, qui venerunt cum rege Angliæ ad Marsiliam, ibidem naves intraverunt; et fecit illis Dominus prosperum iter, ita quod in brevi perduxit eos Dominus ad obsidionem Acræ per mare magnum sine ullo impedimento.[5] Archbishop Baldwin arrives in Palestine.

Hoveden, 380. b. 44. Johannes vero Norwicensis episcopus papam adiit; et accepta ab eo licentia redeundi, dimisit crucem, et domum rediit absolutus. Quod cum domino regi constaret, cepit de illo per manus Templariorum mille marcas de redemptione. The bishop of Norwich lays aside the cross.

Hoveden, 380. b. 47. Navigium autem regis cui archiepiscopus Auxiensis, et episcopus Baionensis,[6] et Robertus de Sablul,[7] et The fleet under the archbishop of Auch.

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[1] *La Pantantee*] le Pantee, quæ distat a Gaeta civitate per quadraginta milliaria, H.; om. J.

[2] *Iscele majur*] Istellemanie, H.; Histelemaiur, J.

[3] *pisces*] ab hac non multum distat insula quæ dicitur Ile de Girun, ubi est castellum bonum et portus, H.; om. J.

[4] *Virgilii*] et distat per decem milliaria a Neapoli; deinde præteriit rex Capue, et cap de Mauerbe, quæ est media via inter Neapolim et Salernum, H.; om. J.

[5] Baldwin and his part of the expedition arrived at Tyre on the 16th of September, and at Acre on the 12th of October. *Epp. Cantuar.*, pp. 328, 329.

[6] *Baionensis*] Bajocensis, H. and J.

[7] *Sablul*] Sabloil, H.; Sablol, J.; Sablus, B.

A.D. 1190. March. Ten ships sail from Dartmouth towards Lisbon, immediately after Easter, March 25.

Ricardus de Chamvil, et Willelmus Fortis de Uelerun praefuerunt, iter arripuit Jerosolimitanum statim post Pascha, de diversis regionibus Angliæ et Normanniæ, Britanniæ et Pictaviæ. Cujus navigii pars quædam convenit in portu de Derstemua, et post moram aliquot dierum ibidem factam, cum prædictæ naves, numero decem, velificarent versus Ulyxisbonam, et præterissent quandam terram protensam in mari quæ dicitur Godestret; et præterissent Britanniam habentes Sanctum Mathæum de Finibus Terræ, in sinistra navigii parte, et Mare magnum quo itur in Hiberniam, in dextris, dimiserunt totam Pictaviam et Gasconiam in sinistra. Cum jam præterissent mare Britannicum,[1] et venissent in mare Hispanicum die Ascensionis Domini, arripuit illas tempestas valida et horribilis, et ab invicem in momento sunt separatæ.

Hoveden, 380. b. 49.

In the bay of Biscay, May 6, storm.

Gloriosum miraculum Sancti Thomæ, martyris Cantuariensis.

Hoveden, 381. a. 5.

S. Thomas of Canterbury appears to the crusaders in the same ship with William Fitz-Osbert.

Dum vero tempestas sæviret, et omnes clamarent ad Dominum cum tribularentur, beatus Thomas Cantuariensis, martyr gloriosus, per tres vices visibiliter apparuit tribus personis qui erant in navi Lundoniensi, in qua erant Willelmus filius Osberti, et Gaufridus Aurifaber cives Londoniæ; dicens illis, "Nolite terreri, " ego enim, et beatus Edmundus martyr, et beatus " Nicholaus confessor, constituti sumus a Domino cus- " todes hujus navigii regis Angliæ. Et si homines " hujus navigii se a pravis operibus custodierint, et " de præteritis pœnitentiam egerint, Dominus dabit " illis prosperum iter, et in semitis Suis gressus eorum " diriget." His itaque sub trina repetitione dictis, beatus Thomas evanuit ab oculis eorum; et statim cessavit tempestas, et facta est in mari tranquillitas magna.

Ps. xxvii. 11. S. Mark, iv. 39.

[1] *Britannicum*] et mare Pictavicum, add. H.

Hoveden, 381. a. 14. Et jam navis illa Lundoniensis, in qua supradicta apparitio contigit, præterierat portum Ulixisbonæ et Caput Sancti Vincentii, et pervenerat prope civitatem Silviæ, quæ tunc temporis fuit ultima omnium villarum Christianitatis in Hispania super Mare Magnum, et erat adhuc Christiana ibi fides novella; utpote quæ in anno proximo præterito[1] erepta erat de manibus paganorum et facta Christicola. Cumque prope illam civitatem esset navis illa procellis agitata, illi qui intus erant ignorantes ubi essent, miserunt foras naviculam suam, et navigantes ad terram cognoverunt per indicia quod terra illa erat terra Christianorum, et quod ulterius non erat terra nec habitatio Christianæ religionis. Et quia non erat eis via tuta ulterius, sine bono et magno comitatu, accesserunt ad civitatem, et cognita adventus illorum causa, episcopus civitatis Silviæ, et clerus et populus receperunt eos gratanter, gratias Deo agentes pro adventu illorum. Erant autem in illa navi plusquam quater viginti juvenes bene armati.

A.D. 1190. May 6. The ship arrives at Silvia, and is hospitably received.

fo. 151 r°.

De Baioc[2] Imperatore de Hispania Saracenica.

Hoveden, 381. a. 26. Interim Baioc Al Miramimoli, imperator de Maroc et de Hyspania Saracenica, magno congregato exercitu, venit in Terram Sancii[3] regis Portingalensis, in vindictam imperatoris de Marroc patris sui, anno sexto proximo præterito defuncti in obsidione apud Sanctam Herenam, castellum Adelfonsi regis,[4] patris prædicti Sancii regis Portigalensis. Cives autem Silviæ, timen-

The emperor of Morocco invades Portugal.

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[1] 1189. See Diceto, 646; and p. 90, above, note [1].

[2] *Baioc*] Abou-Yousouf Yacoub Al-Mansour Bifadl-Allah, emperor of Morocco 1184–1199. His father Yousouf died on an expedition to Portugal, in which he unsuccessfully besieged Santarem, (the Sancta Herena of the text,) June 18, 1184. *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, iii. series, vol. iii. pp. 36, 37.

[3] Sancho I., 1185–1211.

[4] Alfonso I., 1112–1185.

A.D. 1190. The Londoners are persuaded to stay and assist the king of Portugal.

tes adventum imperatoris de Marroc, non permiserunt juvenes illos Lundonienses ab eis recedere, sed et navem illorum fregerunt et de asseribus illius fecerunt civitatis propugnacula, promittentes et omnimodam securitatem facientes, quod rex Portigalensis bene solveret illis moram quam fecerant, et damnum quod habebant de amissione navis suæ. Et ita factum est; rex namque Portigalensis navem pro nave dedit, et expensas pro expensis solvit. Hoveden, 381. a. 30.

Other English ships arrive at Lisbon.

Præterea novem aliæ naves quæ in eadem tempestate erant applicuerunt in diversis partibus Hispaniæ, tamen duce Domino, pervenerunt ad civitatem Ulixisbonæ, ascendentes per fluvium qui dicitur Tauglus. In eadem civitate requiescit corpus Sancti Vincentii martyris. Hoveden, 381. a. 35.

June 24. The emperor of Morocco besieges Torres Nuevas.

Et antequam illuc venissent, imperator de Marroc, die Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, transivit fluvium Tagi per vadum, et omnis exercitus ejus cum eo, et obsedit castellum Sancii regis Portingalensis quod dicitur Turres Novæ. Rex vero Portingalensis misit nuncios suos ad peregrinos, qui in navibus venerant ad civitatem Ulixisbonæ, et petiit ab eis auxilium, dicens quod nisi eum auxiliarentur, ipse totam terram suam amitteret. Viri siquidem illi, scientes quod mori pro Christo lucrum esset illis, naves suas reliquerunt, et numero quingenti viri bene armati, et de omnibus qui in navibus venerant præelecti, fortiores et animosiores, perrexerunt usque ad Sanctam Erenam, quæ distat a civitate Ulixisbonæ per duas dietas: et invenerunt Sancium regem Portingalensem, auxilio et consilio destitutum; paucos enim viros bellicosos habebat, et fere omnes inermes. Hoveden, 381. a. 39.

The crusaders join king Sancho at Santarem.

The emperor of Morocco takes Torres Nuevas and besieges Tomar.

Et jam imperator de Marroc ceperat castellum suum quod obsederat; et aliud castellum ejus quod dicitur Thumar, castellum Templariorum, obsedit. Qui cum audisset adventum peregrinorum timuit valde, et missis legatis suis ad regem Portingalensem, petiit ab eo Hoveden, 381. a. 50.

Hoveden, 381. a. 53. Silviam civitatem, et ipse recederet, et redderet ei castellum quod ceperat, et pacem haberet cum illo septem annis. Quod cum rex Portingalensis facere nollet, prædictus imperator mandavit ei quod in crastino veniret obsessurus Sanctam Erenam. A.D. 1190. He offers terms of peace, which Sancho refuses.

Hoveden, 381. b. 1. Tunc rex Portingalensis, inito consilio cum peregrinis, constituit homines suos in turribus et in fortioribus propugnaculis murorum. Peregrini autem de Anglia qui de navibus suis venerant, debiliores partes civitatis sibi elegerunt, audaciam habentes pro muro. Sancho prepares to defend Santarem.

Hoveden, 381. b. 4. In crastino autem, cum omnes essent succincti ad bellum, et clamor esset in foribus, "Jam jam veniet, "et non tardabit;" repente venit nuncius qui dixit, "Imperator de Maroc mortuus est jam triduanus, et "exercitus ejus fugit." Et adhuc illo loquente venerunt duo, deinde tres, deinde plures, eundem sermonem dicentes. Credidit ergo illis rex et universus populus, et civitas replebatur gaudio et exultatione. In crastino autem dedit rex viris de navibus licentiam redeundi ad naves suas, et promisit illis quod bene recompensaret eis labores suos. Report of the death fo. 151 vº. of the emperor of Morocco. The crusaders return to their ships.

Hoveden, 381. b. 11. Sed antequam illi ad naves suas venissent, Robertus de Sablul, et Ricardus de Chamvil venerunt ad Ulixisbonam cum sexaginta tribus magnis navibus de storio regis Angliæ: storium idem est quod navigium. Quidam autem hominum qui in comitatu eorum venerant malefactores et perversi erant. Qui etiam exeuntes de navibus suis in civitatem Ulixisbonæ ascenderunt, et per vias et vicos incedentes superbe locuti sunt cum populo civitatis, et cum mulieribus et filiabus civium per vim coinquinati sunt, et Judæos et paganos, qui erant ibi servi regis, a civitate fugaverunt, et diripientes bona eorum domos eorum combusserunt; et vindemias vindemiaverunt, non relinquentes in eis uvam vel racemum. Arrival of the main body of the fleet at Lisbon. Bad behaviour of some of the pilgrims.

Hoveden, 381. b. 20. Quod cum regi Portingalensi nunciatum esset, velocius advenit, et invento ibi Roberto de Sablul et Sancho comes to Lisbon.

A.D. 1190. July. He bides his time.

Ricardo de Camvilla cum navigio regis Angliæ, faciem hilarem et pacem spondentem eis exhibuit, patienter sustinens injurias plebi suæ illatas. Hoveden, 381. b. 21.

The captains of the fleet make the pilgrims swear to keep king Richard's Assize.

In crastino vero Robertus et Ricardus de Camvil receperunt ab omnibus hominibus navigii sacramentum de supradictis capitulis et assisis regis servandis. Post triduum vero iterum orta est dissensio inter cives Ulixisbonæ et quosdam illorum qui in navibus venerant, ita quod ex utraque [parte] multi ceciderunt in bello interfecti. Et clamor populi venit ad aures regis, qui statim portas civitatis claudere fecit, et omnes qui in civitatem venerant de navibus ad edendum et bibendum, cepit et incarceravit; et erant numero viri septingenti. Hoveden, 381. b. 23.

The king imprisons 700 malefactors.

Agreement between king Sancho and the captains.

Et antequam exire possent, fecit rex cum Roberto et Ricardo pacem qualem voluit, in hac forma; scilicet quod mala præterita ex utraque parte remitterentur, et quod ipsi pacem firmam servarent illi et terræ suæ quamdiu in terra sua fuissent; et ipse similiter illis; et quod arma et cætera quæ hinc inde in bello illo amissa fuerant redderentur. Quod cum factum esset, Robertus et Ricardus recesserunt a civitate cum navigio regis Angliæ, in vigilia Sancti Jacobi apostoli, et eodem die venerunt ad introitum maris, ubi Tagus cadit in mare. Et eodem die venit illuc Willelmus de Forz cum triginta tribus magnis navibus. Et erant omnes pariter in eodem loco naves navigii numero centum et sex magnæ naves quæ tunc aderant onustæ viris bellicosis et victualibus et armis. Hoveden, 381. b. 30.

July 24. The fleet assembles at the mouth of the Tagus.

July 26. fo. 152 r°. The fleet sails past Cape Espichel.

In crastino festi Sancti Jacobi, feria quinta, prædicti Robertus et Ricardus de Camvil, et Willelmus de Forz recesserunt a portu Ulixisbonæ cum navigio regis Angliæ, transeuntes per montem magnum protensum in mare qui dicitur Spichel.[1] Deinde venerunt ad portum Hoveden, 381. b. 41

[1] "et per portum Dalchath, et "per Palmel, et per Sinnes, terram "quondam arenosam protensam in "mari, et per portum de Ordunire, "et per montem magnum et excel-"sum protensum in mare, qui dici-

Silviæ, quæ tunc temporis fuit ultima civitas Christianitatis. A.D. 1190. July.

Miraculum de quadam imagine Beatæ Mariæ in Hispania.

Hoveden, 381. b. 49. Miraculous story of an image of the Blessed Virgin.

Deinde transierunt ante civitatem paganorum quæ dicitur Sancta Maria de Farun.[1] Et notandum est quare civitas sic nominatur. Farun dicitur locus ubi civitas sita est; et Christiani qui eam ædificaverunt sic nominaverunt eam; et in nomine Dei genitricis Mariæ yconiam quandam [2] supra murum statuerunt. Deinde cum pagani prævaluissent adversus Christianos, obtinuerunt eandem civitatem. Et cum prædictam yconiam supra murum stantem invenissent, amputaverunt caput et brachia et pedes illi in contemptum fidei Christianæ et beatæ Mariæ; et projecerunt illam longius in mare. Quo facto mare et tellus facta sunt sterilia, et fames prævaluit super terram illam, adeo quod fere omnes homines illius provinciæ fame interirent. Tunc seniores populi et juvenes omnes a maximo usque ad minimum die ac nocte plorantes, et in sacco et cinere pœnitentiam agentes, recordati sunt yconiæ cujus caput et manus et pedes absciderant; dicentes, "Peccavimus, " inique egimus, iniquitatem fecimus, quando caput et " manus et pedes yconiæ amputavimus. Quæramus ergo " illa, et apponamus ea locis suis, ut sic saltem avertat " Deus iram Suam a nobis et a civitate ista." Et miserunt sagenas in mare ubi projecerant caput et manus et pedes, et trahentes ea ad terram, apposuerunt caput collo, et manus brachiis et pedes tibiis; et solidaverunt ea auro et argento primo et purissimo; et deinde

" tur caput Sancti Vincentii, in " quo corpus Sancti Vincentii requievit intumulatum per multa " tempora usque dum translatum " fuit ad civitatem Ulyxisbonæ. " Deinde transierunt ante portum " Silviæ,"—ins. Hoveden; om. J.

[1] *Farun*] Hayrun, H.

[2] *quandam*] lapideam, ins. H.

A.D. 1190. Miraculous story. statuerunt illam yconiam in loco honorabili; et in magna veneratione habetur usque in hodiernum diem. Et statim cessavit fames, et terra dedit fructum suum. Hoveden, 382. a. 14.

The fleet sails round Spain, and arrives at the mouth of the Rhone. Deinde transierunt prædictæ naves ante castellum quod dicitur Mertel.[1] Deinde per alias civitates multas et magnas et per montes magnos in mare protensos.[2] Tandem venerunt ad quandam insulam quæ dicitur Odur, et est ad introitum Rodani. Et in ascendendo per fluvium Rodani stat civitas bona archiepiscopalis quæ dicitur Arles le blanch; et in ascendendo superius per eundem fluvium est bona civitas quæ Sanctus Ægidius nominatur. Deinde est Marsilia. Et est sciendum quod multæ insulæ Saracenæ sunt inter districtas Affricæ et Marsiliam, quarum una dicitur Majorek, altera dicitur Euviz, et utraque illarum est tributaria sub rege Arragoniæ. Insula vero de Majok reddit regi Arroganiæ trecentos pannos sericos de tributo per annum; insula vero de Euviz reddit eidem regi per annum ducentos pannos sericos de tributo. Hoveden, 382. a. 15, 382. b. 26.

Relics at Marseilles. Apud Marsiliam inter cæteras sanctorum relliquias, sunt relliquiæ Sancti Lazari, fratris Sanctæ Mariæ Magdalenæ et Sanctæ Marthæ; qui in eodem loco septem annis episcopatum tenuit, postquam eum Dominus resuscitavit a mortuis.[3] Hoveden, 382. b. 32.

Divisions of kingdoms of Navarre and Spain. Sciendum est etiam quod tota terra quæ est ab Anglia usque ad Hispaniam secus mare, est terra regis Angliæ; et protenditur usque ad portum qui dicitur Huuarce, qui dividit terram regis Angliæ a terra regis fo. 152 v°. Navarræ. Et terra regis Navarræ incipit a portu illo, qui dicitur Huarce, et durat usque ad aquam quæ Hoveden, 383. a. 1.

[1] *Mertel*] Merell, H.

[2] Hoveden gives here a list of the places on the coast which were passed by the fleet in very long detail, which proves that he must have had before him, in extenso, the document from which the text is abridged. The only important date is that August 1 the fleet passed the straits of Gibraltar.

[3] Here Hoveden has an account of Marseilles, and of the voyage thence to Acre.

Hoveden, 383. a. 7. dicitur Castre, [quæ dividit terram regis Navarræ a terra regis Castellæ. Et terra regis Castellæ incipit ab aqua de Castre,] et durat usque ad montes de Sor, qui dividit terram regis Castellæ a terra regis de Sancto Jacobo. Terra vero regis de Sancto Jacobo incipit a montibus de Sor, et durat usque ad aquam de Mine, quæ dividit terram regis de Sancto Jacobo a terra regis Portingalensis. Et terra regis Portingalensis incipit ab aqua quæ dicitur Mine, et durat usque ad mediam viam inter Silvis, et Sanctam Mariam de Hayrun. Ibi vero incipit terra paganorum qui sunt in Hispania sub imperatore de Morock; et durat usque ad montem magnum qui dicitur Muscian.[1] A monte vero illo, incipit terra regis Arragoniæ, et durat ultra civitatem de Nice. Et post illam civitatem de Nice, incipit Italia, terra imperatoris Romæ; et est ibi civitas bona quæ dicitur Wintelmile. Terra vero imperatoris durat inde usque ad Gaetam, quæ est terra regis Siciliæ, et est in Apulia, in illa parte Apuliæ quæ dicitur principatus Capuæ.

A.D. 1190. Boundaries of Castile and Leon, of Leon and Portugal; Portugal and the Moorish territory; Arragon; the empire, the kingdom of Apulia.

Hoveden, 383. a. 23.

Hoveden, 383. a. 27. Sciendum vero est quod in media via inter Marsiliam et Siciliam sunt duæ insulæ magnæ, quarum major insula dicitur Sardinia; altera dicitur Corzege. Et multæ aliæ insulæ sunt circa Siciliam; quarum quædam sunt ardentes.[2] Una vero earum, major omnibus aliis montibus illis dicitur Mon Gibel, quia ita vehementer ardere solebat, quod marinam partem maris in circuitu ejus desiccabat, et pisces comburebat; sed jam plusquam quadraginta anni præterierunt, ex quo ignis ille extinctus est, meritis et precibus beatæ Agatæ virginis et martyris.

Islands between Marseilles and Sicily.

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[1] Hoveden has here a short notice of the four Saracen kingdoms of Spain, Cordova, Gant (Jaen), Murcia, and Valencia.

[2] Hoveden here has an account of flying fish seen off Corsica and Sardinia: "Et qui hoc vidit testimonium perhibuit, et verum est "testimonium ejus, quia cum ipse "in mensa vidisset in alta navi, "quidam ex piscibus illis volanti-"bus cecidit ante illum super men-"sam."

A.D. 1190.

Miraculum Sanctæ Agatæ virginis.

Miracle at Catania.

Quadam autem die, cum ignis vehementius solito arderet, et exiret a fornace Montis Gebel, et appropinquasset civitati Catinensium, ubi corpus sanctissimum beatæ Agatæ virginis requiescit; paganorum multitudo, fugiens ad sepulcrum ejus, tulerunt velum ejus contra incendium; et ignis reversus est in mare, et comburens desiccavit mare fere per unum milliare, et pisces combussit, de quibus multi evaserunt. Et ex genere eorum ibi sunt usque in diem hanc semiusti, et dicuntur pisces Sanctæ Agatæ, ad laudem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Qui est semper mirabilis et gloriosus in sanctis Suis. Hoveden, 383. a. 39.]

The crusading fleet arrives at Marseilles, August 22.

Igitur Robertus de Sablul et Ricardus de Camvil et Willelmus de Forz, transeuntes cum navigio regis Angliæ inter Affricam et Hispaniam, post tempestates plurimas quas in itinere illo pertulerunt, pervenerunt ad Marsiliam in octavis Assumptionis Sanctæ Mariæ, feria quarta, cum toto navigio illis commisso. Et non invento ibi rege domino suo, per dies octo fecerunt ibi moram, propter quosdam necessarios navium apparatus. Hoveden, 383. a. 47.

They arrive at Messina, Sept. 14. The king of France arrives, Sept. 16.

Deinde secuti sunt eum; et in Exaltatione sanctæ Crucis venerunt ad civitatem Messanam, feria sexta, et in die Dominica sequenti [venit] illuc Philippus rex Franciæ, xvi°. kalendas Octobris. Custodes vero civitatis honorifice susceperunt eum, et tradiderunt ei palatium Tancredi regis Siciliæ ad hospitandum ibi. Hoveden, 383. a. 53.

The king of England leaves Salerno, Sept. 13.

Cum vero rex Angliæ audisset quod navigium suum Messanam venisset, tertio decimo die Septembris a Salerno recessit, et transiens ante civitatem archiepiscopalem quæ dicitur Melphe,[1] deinde venit ad civitatem et castellum quæ dicuntur Escale. Juxta hoc Hoveden, 383. b. 1.

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[1] *Melphe*] et ante civitatem archiepiscopalem quæ Conze dicitur, decimo octavo die Septembris venit ad civitatem, etc., H.; om. J.

Hoveden, 383. b. 6 castellum est insula parva, ubi dicuntur fuisse scholæ Lucani; et adhuc est ibi camera pulchra sub terra in qua Lucanus studere consueverat. A.D. 1190. September. fo. 153 r°.

Hoveden, 383. b. 7. Nocte sequenti jacuit in villa quæ dicitur Lacetar in prioratu Montis Cassiæ. Inde[1] venit ad Melide, ubi honorifice susceptus est et procuratus in abbatia quæ dicitur Sancta Trinitas de Melide. Ibi est turris lignea juxta abbatiam quam Robertus Wiskard expugnavit, et castellum obtinuit in villa de Melide. He goes to Mileto. Sept. 21.

Hoveden, 383. b. 15. Rex[2] vero inde recedens cum uno solo milite transivit per quandam villam parvam; et cum transisset vertit se ad domum quandam in qua audivit accipitrem; et intrans domum cepit illum; quem cum dimittere nollet, rustici multi accurrentes impetum fecerunt in eum cum fustibus et lapidibus. Et cum unus illorum cultellum suum in regem extraxisset, rex eum cum lato gladii sui verberans gladium suum fregit; alios lapidibus obruit, et sic vix evadens a manibus eorum, venit Alabaignare,[3] et ibi invenit familiam suam.[4] Sed nullam ibi moram faciens, transivit fluvium magnum qui dicitur Le Far de Meschines, et juxta turrem lapideam in tentorio jacuit.[5] Sept. 22. Travelling with a single attendant, he is attacked by rustics. Escapes, and arrives at the Faro of Messina.

Hoveden, 383. b. 27. Vicesima tertia die Septembris venit ad civitatem Messanam in Sicilia cum buccis suis multis et aliis magnis navibus, et galeis, in tanta gloria et sonitu tubarum et buccinarum quod tremor apprehendit omnes Sept. 23. He arrives at Messina.

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[1] *Inde*] Nono decimo die Septembris transiens rex per prioratum qui dicitur Sanctus Michael de Josaphat, venit ad alium prioratum ejusdem ordinis qui dicitur Sancta Maria de Fosses, et ibi est castellum quod dicitur Sanctæ Lucheæ. Vicesima die Septembris transiens rex per castellum quod dicitur Lamante, venit ad villam quæ dicitur Sancta Eufemia. Vicesima prima die Septembris venit rex ad Melide,—H.; om. J.

[2] *Rex*] Vicesima secunda die Septembris, H.

[3] *Alabaignare*] ad prioratum qui dicitur Labainarie, H.

[4] *et ibi invenit familiam suam*] om. H.

[5] *jacuit*] fluvius autem ille del Far dividit Calabriam et Siciliam, H.; who goes on to mention Scylla and Charybdis.

A.D. 1190. Sept. 23. Splendour of his landing.

Hoveden, 383. b. 30.

qui in civitate erant. Rex vero Franciæ et sui, et omnes principes civitatis Messanæ et clerus et populus stabant in littore, admirantes super iis quæ viderant et audierant de rege Angliæ et de potestate ejus. Qui cum applicuisset, prosiliens in terram locutus est cum Philippo rege Franciæ. Et post colloquium eodem die rex Franciæ transfretare desiderans cum navigio suo exivit a portu, sed statim illo die, vento sibi contrario, dolens et invitus ad eundem portum reversus est.

King Philip leaves Messina, but is obliged to return.

Richard is well received by the nobles.

Hoveden, 383. b. 35.

Interim rex Angliæ, cum desiderio et gaudio maximo a baronibus et militibus terræ suæ receptus, intravit in domum Reginaldi de Muschet,[1] ubi hospitium suum præparabatur in suburbio extra muros civitatis Messanæ inter vineas.

Sept. 24 and 25: interviews of the two kings.

Hoveden, 383. b. 37. shorter.

Vicesima quarta die Septembris et vicesima quinta venit rex Angliæ ad hospitium regis Franciæ loqui cum eo. Et eodem die venit rex Franciæ ad hospitium regis Angliæ ad loquendum cum illo; et videbatur quod tantus esset inter illos mutuæ dilectionis affectus, quod nunquam dissolvi posset aut violari amor eorum.

Sept. 28. Arrival of queen Johanna from Palermo.

Hoveden, 383. b. 40. longer.

Vicesima octava die exivit rex Angliæ obviam Johannæ sorori suæ, quondam reginæ Siciliæ, quæ eadem die venit de Panormo per galeas; et duxit eam ad hospitale Sancti Johannis, ubi hospitium ejus præparabatur.

Sept. 29. Meeting of Philip and Johanna.

Hoveden, 383. b. 42. shorter.

Vicesima nona die Septembris, die scilicet Sancti Michaelis, venit rex Franciæ ad hospitium regis Angliæ, et locutus est cum eo. Et postea perrexerunt ambo ad hospitium sororis regis Angliæ videre illam. Et rex Franciæ adeo faciem hilarem exhibebat, quod populus dicebat quod rex Franciæ duceret eam in uxorem.

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[1] *Muschet*] Muhec, H. Moyac, Hoveden, 388. a. 9. Muhec is doubtless the right reading. Reginald was probably one of the same family as Walter de Moac, who is mentioned in 1171 as constable of the household of William II. of Sicily, and in 1177 as admiral of the fleet. See above, vol. i. p. 171, and Cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre, p. 296.

Hoveden. 383. b. 44. Tricesima die rex Angliæ transivit fluvium de Far, et cepit locum munitissimum qui dicitur La Baignare, ubi canonici regulares Deo serviunt jugiter. In crastino vero Sancti Michaelis introduxit sororem suam in locum illum munitissimum, et dimittens eam ibi cum militibus et servientibus multis, rediit rex Messanam ad hospitium. A.D. 1190. Sept. 30. Richard occupies La Baniare, and settles his sister there.

Hoveden, 383. b. 47. Secunda die Octobris cepit rex Angliæ castellum munitissimum quod est in medio fluminis del Far, inter Calabriam et Messanam, quod dicitur monasterium Griffonum: et posuit in illo frumentum et vinum et carnes et alia victualia sua quæ de Anglia et aliis terris suis et aliunde per mare venerunt. Cum autem cives Messanæ vidissent quod rex Angliæ in castello de La Baignare cum sorore sua servientes posuisset, et quod ipse in monasterio Griffonum cum victualibus suis milites et servientes posuisset, habuerunt eum suspectum, conjicientes quod totam occuparet insulam si posset; et inde de facili commoveri poterant contra eum. fo. 153 v°. Oct. 2. He occupies a monastery with his stores. The people of Messina take alarm.

De discordia inter cives Messanæ et regem Angliæ.

Hoveden, 383. b. 55. Unde contigit quod tertia die Octobris discordia emersit inter exercitum regis Angliæ et cives Messanæ; et in tantum excrevit ex utraque parte indignatio, quod cives clauserunt portas civitatis, et armati ascenderunt muros; et alii domos civitatis fortissimas, alii munitiones supra portas intraverunt. Cumque exercitus regis hæc audisset et vidisset, venerunt cum impetu magno ad portas civitatis. Rex vero in equo velocissimo cursitabat per exercitum, baculo verberans quoscunque ex suis attingebat; volens illos ab insultu cohibere, sed nequivit. Tandem rediit ad hospitium suum; et cum se armasset iterum exivit ad extinguendam malitiam si posset. Postea intravit cymbam unam, et ivit ad palatium regis Tancredi ad loquendum cum rege Franciæ, et consulere eum super iis quæ contigerant. Oct. 3. Quarrel between the people and the English. Richard tries to stop it, but in vain, and goes to consult Philip

A.D. 1190. Oct. 3. Peace.

Interim per consilium seniorum civitatis discordia illa quievit; et depositis ex utraque parte armis, reversus est unusquisque in domum suam. Mane autem facto, scilicet quarta die Octobris, venerunt ad hospitium regis Angliæ, Ricardus[1] archiepiscopus Messanæ, et Willelmus archiepiscopus de Monte Regali,[2] et Willelmus archiepiscopus de Risa,[3] et Margaritus admiralis, et multi alii de familiaribus regis Siciliæ. Et adduxerunt secum Philippum regem Franciæ, et Reginaldum Carnotensem episcopum, et Manasser episcopum de Legris, et Hugonem ducem Burgundiæ, et Petrum comitem de Nevers,[4] et Gaufridum comitem de Pertico,[5] et comitem de Luvein, et alios multos de familiaribus regis Franciæ, et Walterum Rotomagensem archiepiscopum, Girardum Auciensem archiepiscopum, et archiepiscopum de Appamia, et Johannem Ebroicensem episcopum, et multos alios de familia regis Angliæ, in quibus fiduciam habebant ad faciendam pacem inter ipsos et regem Angliæ. Hoveden, 384. a. 8.

Oct. 4. Meeting of nobles at Richard's lodgings.

The citizens prepare to attack Richard, who summons his people to arm.

Cum ergo ipsi de pace facienda inter regem Angliæ et cives Messanæ diu tractassent, et eam pene reformassent, processerunt cives in magna multitudine, congregati super montes, et exspectaverunt: quidam prompti et parati proditiose in regem Angliæ irruere: quidam vero eorum insultum fecerunt in hospitium Hugonis le Brun.[6] Et clamor eorum non modicus venit ad aures regis Angliæ. Qui statim relicto consilio regis Franciæ et prædictorum, præcepit omnes suos armari; et ipse Hoveden, 384. a. 17.

[1] Richard Palmer (?), an Englishman, bishop of Syracuse, and afterwards second archbishop of Messina, 1183–1195.

[2] William, archbishop of Montreal, 1183–1190; the person proposed by Richard I. for the see of Canterbury.

[3] William, archbishop of Reggio, d. 1197.

[4] Peter of Courtenay, son of Peter the brother of Lewis VII., afterwards Latin emperor of Constantinople.

[5] Geoffrey, who succeeded his father Rotrou III. the next year.

[6] Of Lusignan, count of La Marche.

Hoveden, 384. a. 23. cum paucis ascendit montem magnum et arduum quod nemo putaret ullo modo posse contingere. Cum igitur ad summitatem montis pervenisset cum magno labore, quotquot in monte fuerant cum fuga celerrima intraverunt. Milites autem et servientes ad portas civitatis et ad muros fortiter congressi sunt, et multos duros lapidum ictus sustinentes, aliquando portas intraverunt, aliquando vi exierunt. Et occisi sunt de familia regis quinque milites et viginti servientes, vidente rege Franciæ et nullum auxilium illis faciente, immo nocente in quantum potuit, quamvis confratres essent ipsius in illa peregrinatione. Rex vero Franciæ et sui civitatem intraverunt, et per medium illorum ibant tutissime ac si domi essent. Tandem vero post maximos labores, in tantam virtutem excreverunt homines regis Angliæ, quod per vim fregerunt portas civitatis, et murum undique ascenderunt, et ita ingredientes civitatem obtinuerunt, et statim signa regis Angliæ in munitionibus collocaverunt.[1]

A.D. 1190. October 3. Struggle between the English soldiers and the citizens. fo. 154 r°.

The dishonourable conduct of the French.

Richard's men force their way into the city, and plant the royal standard on the walls.

Hoveden, 384. a. 40. Octavo die Octobris, rex Franciæ [et rex Angliæ,] coram comitibus et baronibus suis et clero et populo, juraverunt quod alter alterum in exercitu ejus in peregrinatione illa in eundo et redeundo bona fide custodirent. Comites vero et barones hoc idem juraverunt se firmiter et inconcusse servaturos.

October 8. The kings renew their agreement as to the pilgrimage.

Hoveden, 384. a. 48. Deinde prædicti reges, per voluntatem et consilium archiepiscoporum et episcoporum, comitum et baronum totius exercitus peregrinorum, statuerunt, "quod omnes "peregrini qui in via hujus peregrinationis morerentur, "de omnibus armaturis suis, et equitaturis suis et vestibus quibus usuri erant, pro voluntate sua disponerent, et "de medietate possessionum suarum quas secum habent "in via, pro arbitrio suo similiter facient, dummodo nihil

Regulations for the crusaders.

They are to have power to dispose by will of their arms and half their goods.

[1] Here Hoveden gives an account of the dissatisfaction of Philip at this arrangement, and of Richard's entrusting the city to the Templars and Hospitallers.

A.D. 1190. October 8.

Hoveden, 384. a. 52.

" in patriam suam remittant. Et clerici de capellis et " omnibus utensilibus ad capellas pertinentibus, et de " omnibus libris, pro voto suo ordinabunt. Altera pars [1] " in manu Walteri Rotomagensis archiepiscopi, et Ma- " nasser Lingonensis episcopi, et magistri militiæ domus " Templi et magistri Hospitalis, et Hugonis ducis Bur- " gundiæ et aliorum plurimorum [2] tradetur, qui ad sub- " vectionem terræ Jerosolimitanæ, ubi viderint magis " necessarium, pecuniam prædictam impenderent.

The other half to be expended on the crusade.

Royal confirmation.

Hoveden, 384. b. 4.

" Hæc autem reges in propriis personis affidaverunt " firmiter et fideliter servandum, in omni via tam citra " mare quam ultra, de omnibus peregrinis utriusque " regni, tam de illis qui venturi sunt quam de illis " qui venturi erant.[3]

Confirmation by the clergy.

Hoveden, 384. b. 6.

" Archiepiscopi et episcopi id idem in verbo veritatis " servandum promiserunt; magistri Templi et Hospi- " talis super ordinem suum: comites et barones in " propriis personis id idem servandum juraverunt.

Gaming forbidden, except to knights and clerks.

Hoveden, 384. b. 9.

" Præterea nemo in toto exercitu ludat ad aliquod " genus ludi pro lucro, exceptis militibus et clericis; " qui in tota die et nocte non nisi viginti solidos " amittent. Si autem milites aut clerici plusquam ad " viginti solidos in die [4] luserint, quoties viginti solidos " excesserint, centum solidos prædictis archiepiscopis et " eorum prænominatis sociis qui prædictam pecuniam " servabunt, dabunt prædictam pecuniam.[5] Reges autem " pro beneplacito suo ludent, et in hospitio duorum re- " gum possunt servientes eorum ludere, præcepto eorum, " usque ad viginti solidos.[6] Si autem servientes, aut

Fine for excessive gaming.

fo. 154 v°.

Restrictions.

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[1] *pars*] medietas, H.

[2] *aliorum plurimorum*] ad hoc electorum, J.; et Radulfi de Chouci, et Drogonis de Merlau, et Roberti de Sabluil, et Andreæ de Chavenni, et Gilberti de Wasenil, Hoveden.

[3] *venturi erant*] jam venerant, H.

[4] *die*] naturali, ins. H.

[5] prædictæ pecuniæ admiscendos, H.

[6] *solidos*] Et coram archiepiscopis et episcopis, et comitibus et baronibus, præcepto eorum possunt servientes ludere usque ad viginti solidos, ins. H.

Hoveden, 384. b. 17. " marinarii, aut alii ministri per se inventi fuerint A.D. 1190. October 8.
" ludentes, servientes tribus diebus nudi per exercitum Punishment of culprits.
" vapulabunt, nisi se voluerint redimere arbitrio præ-
" dictorum; et alii ministri similiter. Marinarii vero
" si luserint, tribus diebus a summo navis in mare
" demergentur more marinariorum, semel in die, nisi se
" redimere voluerint arbitrio prædictorum.

Hoveden, 384. b. 22. " Si autem peregrinus aliquis, postquam iter arripu- Debts contracted on the pilgrimage to be paid.
" erit, ab aliquo homine in via aliquid mutuo acceperit,
" mutuum solvet. De eo quod ante iter accepit non
" tenetur respondere in via.

Hoveden, 384. b. 24. " Si autem marinarius aliquis conductus vel serviens Serving men not to leave their masters without permission.
" aliquis, vel quicunque fuerit, exceptis [clericis] et
" militibus, a domino suo in via hujus peregrinationis
" recesserit, nemo alius eum recipiet nisi de voluntate
" domini sui fuerit. Si vero aliquis eum invito priori
" domino suo receperit, pro arbitrio prædictorum virorum
" punietur.

Hoveden, 384. b. 28. " Et si quis contra statuta ista tam sollemniter facta, Penalty of excommunication against offenders.
" aliquid temere attentaverit, sciat se excommuni-
" cationi archiepiscoporum et episcoporum, et totius
" exercitus subjacere. Et omnes transgressores pœnis
" supradictis secundum singulorum conditiones, pro
" arbitrio prædictorum virorum punientur.

Hoveden, 384. b. 31. " Præterea statutum est a domino rege Anglorum Regulation of the sale of bread.
" et constabulariis et justitiis et marescallis exercitus
" regis Angliæ,[1] quod mercator de quacunque merca-
" tione sit non potest emere panem ad revendendum
" in exercitu, nec farinam; nisi aliquis alienigena illam
" adduxerit, et qui de illa panem fecerit; nec bladum
" nisi similiter de illo panem fecerit, vel ad secum
" transfretandum detinuerit. Pastea omnino vetatur Pastry forbidden.
" ne ematur; et omnia vetantur emenda in villa et
" infra leucatam villæ. Si autem aliquis bladum emerit

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[1] *a domino . . . Angliæ*] a prædictis regibus, H.

A.D. 1190. October 8. Merchants not to make more than ten per cent. profit: the king's coin not to be rung: dead meat not to be sold: the price of wine not to be raised.

"et de eo panem fecerit, tenetur lucrari in salma "unum terrim[1] tantum et brennon. Alii vero mer- "catores, de quacunque mercatione sint mercatores, "in decem denarios tenentur lucrari unum denarium. "Et ne aliquis sonet[2] monetam domini regis in qua "moneta apparebit, nisi fracta fuerit infra circulum. "Et ne aliquis carnem mortuam emat ad revendendum, "nec bestiam vivam, nisi eam occiderit in exercitu. "Nullus vinum suum post primam conclamationem "carius vendat. Hoveden, 384. b. 37.

Angevin money worth a quarter of English.

"Nullus panem faciat[3] nisi ad unum denarium. Sci- "ant omnes mercatores quod totum fas[4] infra leucatam "villæ: et ut de moneta Angliæ unus denarius detur "pro quatuor denariis Andegaviæ in omnibus merca- "turis. Et notandum est quod supradicta constituta "sunt per consilium regis Franciæ et regis Angliæ et "regis Siciliæ." Hoveden, 384. b. 42.

October 5. The nobles make proposals to Richard.

Tertia die autem post captionem civitatis Messanæ, principes civitatis et totius provinciæ dederunt regi Angliæ obsides de pace sibi et suis servanda; et quod in manu ejus civitatem Messanæ et totius provinciæ dominium liberam traderent, nisi Tancredus dominus illorum rex Siciliæ celerius pacem fecerit cum illo de omnibus exigentiis suis, quas ab eo exigebat. Rex namque Angliæ exigebat a Tancredo rege Siciliæ Mon- tem Sancti Angeli cum toto comitatu et aliis perti- nentiis suis, ad opus Johannæ sororis suæ, quem Wil- lelmus rex Siciliæ maritus ejus dedit ei in dodarium; et cathedram auream ad opus ejusdem Johannæ de consuetudine reginarum terræ illius; et ad opus sui ipsius mensam auream de longitudine duodecim pedum, et de latitudine pedis et dimidii, et quoddam tentorium de serico magnum adeo quod ducenti milites in eo simul possint comedere; et duos tripedes aureos sub Hoveden, 384. b. 47.

fo. 155 r°. Richard demands the dower lands and fortune of Johanna.

[1] *terrim*] teruncium, B.
[2] *sonet*] conet, B.
[3] *faciat*] ad vendendum, ins. H.
[4] *fas*] far, H.; fas est, J.

Hoveden, 385. a. 2. mensa aurea, et viginti quatuor cuppas argenteas, et viginti quatuor discos argenteos, et sexaginta millia salmas de frumento, et sexaginta millia salmas de hordeo, et totidem de vino, et centum galeas armatas, cum toto apparatu et cum victu galeotarum ad duos annos. Hæc omnia petebat Ricardus rex Angliæ ad opus suum, sicut hæredis regis Angliæ, cui prædictus Willelmus rex Siciliæ omnia illa præparavit, et illi divisit quando in extremis laborabat.

A.D. 1190. October. Richard's claim of the dower of Johanna, and the legacy left to king Henry.

Hoveden, 385. a. 8. Cui Tancredus rex Siciliæ respondit in his verbis. "Ego dedi Johannæ sorori vestræ decies centena millia "terrins[1] pro quieta clamatione dodarii sui ante-"quam a me recederet. De reliquis exigentiis vestris "faciam quicquid facere debeo secundum consuetudi-"nem regni hujus." Unde factum est quod per consilium virorum rex Siciliæ dedit regi Angliæ viginti millia unciarum auri pro quieta clamatione dodarii Johannæ sororis suæ; et alia viginti millia unciarum auri pro omni supradictorum quieta clamantia, quæ in jure petebat de divisa Willelmi regis defuncti, et pro matrimonio contrahendo inter Arturum ducem Britanniæ, nepotem suum, et unam de filiabus regis Tancredi. Quibus ex utraque parte concessis, Ricardus rex Angliæ scripsit in hac forma Tancredo regi Siciliæ.

Tancred offers a sum as composition.

He pays 20,000 ounces of gold for the dower; and a similar sum for the legacy, and for a marriage between Arthur of Brittany and a daughter of Tancred.

Hoveden, 385. a. 24. "Tancredo,[2] Dei gratia, illustri regi Siciliæ, ducatus Apuliæ, "principatus Capuæ, Ricardus eadem gratia rex Angliæ, dux "Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, salutem "in Eo Qui dat salutem regibus. Cum pro subvectione "terræ Jerosolimitanæ, quam, peccatis exigentibus, ex majori "parte paganorum incursus obtinuit, et inimicorum Crucis "Christi gladius devastavit, susceptum, inspirante Domino, "peregrinationis iter ageremus per terram vestram transitum "facientes, apud Messanam civitatem vestram moram facere "compulsi sumus, ventorum et maris et temporis inclementia

Richard writes to Tancred.

The crusaders compelled to winter at Messina.

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[1] *terrins*] teruncios, B.; tirrenis, J.

[2] The differences between the text and that of Hoveden, in this document, are merely verbal and trivial, with the exception of the names noted below. The version printed in the Fœdera, i. 52, is taken from Hoveden, not, as it purports in the margin, from Brompton.

A.D. 1190. November. Quarrels of the crusaders with the people. Proposals of peace.

Hoveden, 385. a. 31.

" navigationis nostræ propositum detinente. Ubi inter populum nostrum et cives præfatæ urbis seditione casu exorta, " damnum hinc inde contigit rerum et virorum; unde visum " est pluribus, ut ea occasione fraterna inter nos caritas et " dilectio turbaretur. Curavimus itaque, ut decebat peregrinationis nostræ propositum, et tum per nos et dilectos et " fideles familiares nostros, tum per venerabiles archiepiscopos vestros, scilicet Ricardum archiepiscopum Messanæ, et " Willelmum archiepiscopum de Monte Regali,[1] et alios viros " venerabiles missos a latere vestro, statuimus ut illibatæ " pacis inter nos arctius fœdera firmentur, cujus formam duraturam in ævum scripturæ memoria contineret. Promisimus ergo vobis et regno vestro, et toti terræ dominationis " vestræ, per nos et nostros, terra et mari pacem perpetuam " nos fideliter servaturos, sopitis omnibus quæstionibus quas " tum de dodario sororis nostræ reginæ, tum de rebus aliis " per nostros vobis nuncios feceramus. Hoc nihilominus addito, quod quamdiu in regno vestro moram fecerimus, ad " defensionem terræ vestræ ubicunque præsentes fuerimus, " vobis auxilium præbeamus; quicunque vellet eam invadere " aut vobis bellum inferre. Hujus autem pacis tenorem et " formam, quam in voto habemus et gerimus in proposito, " vobis et vestris illæsa fide servare, per Walterum Rotomagensem archiepiscopum, et Girardum Auxiensem archiepiscopum, et per Johannem Ebroicensem, et Bernardum " Baonicensem episcopos, et per Jordanum de Humez constabularium nostrum, et per Willelmum de Curci, et per " Ricardum de Kamvil, et per Girardum Talebot, et per Robertum de Sablul, et per alios multos nobiliores[2] de familia " nostra fecimus, juramentis præstitis, coram prædictis archiepiscopis ad hoc ipsum efficiendum a vobis destinatis, et " viris illustribus vestris, in animam nostram firmari, sicut " capitularis forma continet. Ut autem pax ista et fraterna " dilectio tam multiplici, quam arctiori vinculo connectatur;

fo. 155 v°. Richard promises peace.

Names of the sureties.

[1] "et Willelmum archiepiscopum " de Risa, et Ricardum filium venerabilis viri Walteri cancellarii " vestri,"—add. H.

[2] Hoveden gives the names in extenso :—"et per Guidonem de " Croum, et per Guarinum filium " Geroldi, et per Bertramnum de " Verdun, et per Willelmum Chamberlangum de Tancervile, et per " Robertum de Novo Burgo, et per " Hugonem Bardolf, et per Wigain " de Cheresburg, et per Gillebertum " de Wascuill, et per Hugonem le " Brun, et per Johannem le Piller, " et per Amauri de Muntfort, et per " Andream de Chavenni, et per " Willelmum de Forz Dulerum, et " per Gaufridum de Rancune, et per " Amauri Torel, et per multos alios " de familia," &c.

Hoveden, 383. b. 4.

A.D. 1190. November.

Marriage of Arthur, Richard's heir, with a daughter of Tancred, agreed on.

" prædictis curiæ vestræ magnatibus id ex parte vestra " tractantibus, Domino disponente condiximus, inter Arturum " egregium ducem Britanniæ, carissimum nepotem nostrum et " hæredem, si forte sine prole nos obire contigerit, et caris- " simam filiam vestram dominam, matrimonium in Christi " nomine contrahendum; ut cum illa, Deo propitio, ad nubiles " annos pervenerit, et vos eam mittetis ad locum ubi pars " utraque consenserit, præfatus nepos noster eam infra quin- " decim dies, postquam ad eum venerit, debeat in uxorem " legitimam desponsare. Aut si celsitudini vestræ placuerit " eam infra annos nubiles desponsari, prædictus nepos noster " juxta beneplacitum vestrum id faciet; si summus pontifex " dispensare voluerit. Volentes autem ei tanquam illustri " dominæ et magnifici regis filiæ dodarium quod convenit " designari, de ducatu nepotis nostri tale dodarium ei pro " parte ipsius nepotis nostri paciscimur: et quod ad præsens " per præfatos fideles nostros jurari fecimus, et ab ipso ne- " pote nostro concedi et a magnatibus sui ducatus, episcopis " et aliis viris illustribus jurari faciemus. Pecuniam vero a " magnificentia vestra pro matrimonio isto, scilicet viginti " millia uncias auri, nos recepisse ad opus nepotis nostri " fatemur. Hoc in pacto veniente, ut si, quod absit, inter- " veniente morte alterius aut culpa nepotis nostri aut nostra, " vel partis ipsius, matrimonium non fieret, nos aut hæredes " nostri pecuniam vobis aut vestris hæredibus integram sine " difficultate, in loco quo statuerimus, restituemus. Super " his videlicet, et de pace quam vobiscum firmavimus, et de " matrimonio contrahendo, et de pecunia restituenda, si forte, " prædictis causis accidentibus, matrimonium non exstaret, " dominum papam et Romanam ecclesiam in fidejussione " ponimus; ut si forte, quod Deus avertat, ex parte nostra " pacis integritas frangeretur, potestatem habeat ecclesia Ro- " mana nos et terram nostram districtius coercere. Similiter " et ad matrimonium contrahendum, potestatem habeat nos " et partem nepotis nostri constringere; vel si propter causas " prædictas non fieret matrimonium, ad restituendam pecuniam " nos aut hæredes nostros, aut terram nostram cogere habeat " potestatem. Id quoque de fidejussione Romanæ ecclesiæ " nos ita facturos, prædictorum virorum nos obligavimus " juramentis, sicut capitularis forma continet, quod vobis " misimus, sigilli nostri appositione signatum. Si autem no- " bis sine hæredibus decedentibus, ipse ad regnum nostrum " hæreditario jure pervenerit, de regno nostro tale dodarium " illi designamus, videlicet, antiquum et consuetum dodarium " reginarum Angliæ."

Dower of the bride.

Receipt of 20,000 ounces, to be repaid if the negotiation should fail.

fo. 156 r°.

The pope is to enforce the carrying out of the agreement.

In case of Arthur's succeeding to the crown, his wife will have the usual dower.

A.D. 1190. November. Form of oath taken by Richard's sureties.

Hæc est autem capitularis forma, quæ facta est inter Ricardum regem Angliæ et Tancredum regem Siciliæ. Hoveden, 385. b. 32.

"Ego N. juro super hæc sacrosancta Evangelia, quod "dominus meus Ricardus rex Angliæ, ab hac hora in antea "servabit pacem Tancredo regi Siciliæ, ducatus Apuliæ, "principatus Capuæ, et regno ejus et toti terræ dominationis "ejus, pacem perpetuam per se et per suos, terra et mari. "Et quamdiu dominus meus Ricardus fuerit in regno domini "regis Tancredi, dabit ei auxilium ad defendendum terram "suam, ubicunque fuerit in terra domini regis Tancredi. Et "quod dominus meus pacem istam manu sua jurabit, si "dominus Tancredus similiter pacem manu sua juraverit. Et "si aliquando, quod absit, dominus meus vellet pacem istam "infringere, ego ponam me in captione ipsius domini regis "Tancredi ubi ipse voluerit. Et hæc omnia dominus meus "Ricardus rex Angliæ et ego, bona fide et sine fraude tene-"bimus. Sic nos Deus adjuvet, et hæc sancta Dei Evangelia, "et sanctorum relliquiæ. Amen."

A similar oath taken on behalf of Tancred.

Et sciendum quod in ea forma juraverunt archiepiscopi et episcopi et cæteri homines regis Siciliæ in animam ipsius, se et suos servaturos pacem Ricardo regi Angliæ et suis, in terra et mari, quamdiu ipsi fuerint in terra sua. Et si ipse rex Siciliæ suique pacem non servaverint, prædicti archiepiscopi et cæteri qui sacramentum illud ex parte regis Tancredi juraverunt, ponent se in captione regis Ricardi ubi ipse voluerit. Hoveden, 385, b. 48.

Further payment of 20,000 ounces.

Et sciendum quod rex Tancredus dedit regi Ricardo Angliæ alia viginti millia uncias auri pro quieta clamantia omnium quæstionum quas fecerat tam de dodario sororis suæ reginæ quam de omnibus aliis exigentiis suis. Et ut Tancredus rex securior esset de omnibus supradictis conventionibus, Ricardus rex scripsit in hac forma summo pontifici. Hoveden, 385. b. 54.

"*Epistola Ricardi regis Angliæ ad summum pontificem.*

Nov. 11. Richard writes to the pope. fo. 136 v°.

"Reverendissimo domino ac beatissimo patri Clementi, Dei "gratia summo pontifici, Ricardus eadem gratia rex Angliæ, "dux Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, comes Andegaviæ, salutem "et sinceræ in Domino devotionis affectum. Justiorem exitum "facta principum sortiuntur cum a sede apostolica robur et Hoveden, 386. a. 4.

Hoveden, 386. a. 13.

"favorem accipiunt et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ consilio diri-
"guntur. Proinde dignum duximus, ad notitiam beatitudinis
"vestræ transmittere quæ inter nos et dominum Tancredum
"illustrem Siciliæ regem, publico nuper et admodum sunt
"necessario celebrata contractu. Sane dilectionem fraternam et
"pacem perpetuam cum eo firmavimus, quam magnatum nos-
"trorum archiepiscoporum et aliorum virorum illustrium jura-
"mentis, ei et suis et regno suo, et toti terræ dominationis suæ
"nos illibata fide promisimus servaturos. Cum [ipso] etiam
"pacis et amicitiæ fœdus arctiori adhuc vinculo astringentes,
"inter Arturum egregium ducem Britanniæ, carissimum ne-
"potem nostrum et hæredem, si nos decedere sine prole con-
"tigerit, et illustrem filiam ejus, matrimonium, Domino
"volente, condiximus contrahendum; quod Domino largiente
"debitam consummationem accipiet, cum illustris puella
"nubiles annos attigerit, aut prædicto domino regi Tan-
"credo placuerit ut infra nubiles annos illa in uxorem nepoti
"nostro desponsanda tradatur, nos ipsum nepotem nostrum
"hoc facturum concessimus, si sancta Romana ecclesia decre-
"verit similiter dispensare. Pecuniam vero, quam pro matri-
"monio isto ad opus nepotis nostri ab eodem domino rege
"recepimus, viginti millia uncias auri, si forte, quod absit,
"morte interveniente alterius, aut culpa nostra, aut nostri
"nepotis, aut partis[1] ipsius, matrimonium non staret; nos aut
"hæredes nostri, ipsi domino Tancredo vel hæredibus suis, ex
"integro restituere, præstitis super hoc juramentis, ex parte
"nostra [tenemur]. Ut igitur tenor pacis initæ, et initiati
"matrimonii fides cum integritate debita ex parte nostra et
"nepotis nostri servetur, sicut ipsi domino Tancredo inter-
"posita jurisjurandi religione firmavimus; sanctitatem ves-
"tram, et sanctam Romanam ecclesiam obnixe rogamus, qua-
"tenus et firmatæ pacis servandæ perpetuo, et matrimonii
"consummandi; vel si ex prædictis causis matrimonium
"ipsum [non] fieret, restituendæ pecuniæ sancta sedes aposto-
"lica fidejussionem pro nobis suscipiat erga dominum regem
"Tancredum et hæredes ipsius. Cujus fidejussionis onus ut
"confidenter vobiscum Romana ecclesia suscipiat, præsentium
"litterarum testimonio vobis et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ
"concedimus liberam potestatem nos et hæredes nostros et
"terram nostram districtius coercere; si vel contra pacem
"præfatam venerimus, vel prædictis causis matrimonio non
"secuto, nos aut hæredes nostri solutionem negaremus. Ad
"honorem utriusque regni vestra novit beatitudo spectare, si
"mediante Romana ecclesia pacis pariter et matrimonii

A.D. 1190. Nov. 11. He informs him of his treaty with Tancred:

the contract of Arthur, his nephew and heir;

receipt of 20,000 ounces of gold for the marriage, to be repaid in case of failure.

He prays the pope to undertake the execution of the contract.

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[1] *partis*] patris, B. J.

A.D. 1190. Nov. 11. "bonum ad congruum finem deveniat, unde multiplex in "futurum utilitas consequatur. Testibus nobis, undecimo die "Novembris, apud Messanam." Hoveden, 386. a. 47.

fo. 157 r°. Flight of Margarit and Jordan del Pin from Messina.

Sed antequam pax ista concessa et confirmata esset inter regem Angliæ et regem Siciliæ, Margaritus admiralis et Jordanus del Pin, familiares regis Tancredi, quibus ipse civitatem Messanam tradiderat custodiendam, de nocte furtive abierunt; adducentes secum totam familiam suam et substantiam quam habebant in auro et argento; domos vero illorum et galeas et alias possessiones suas saisiavit rex Ricardus in manu sua illis abeuntibus. Deinde rex Angliæ fossatum magnum latum et profundum fecit fieri per medium insulæ quæ est in flumine del Far: in qua est prædictum monasterium Griffonum, ubi thesauri regis et victualia custodiebantur; cujus longitudo totius insulæ continet latitudinem ab una ripa in alteram, et finis ejus terminatur in Caripdim.[1] Et est notandum quod in fluvio illo del Far de Mechines sunt illa duo pericula maris maxima, scilicet Silla et Caribdis. Quarum una, Silla, est ad introitum del Far prope la Baignare, et altera, scilicet Caribdis, est prope exitum del Far. Ad cujus cognitionem facta est turris lapidea in prædicta insula juxta fossatum regis Angliæ.[2] Hoveden, 386. a. 47.

Richard fortifies the monastery of the Greeks.

Richard builds a castle called Mategriffon.

Deinde idem Ricardus rex Angliæ firmavit sibi castellum forte in supercilio montis ardui extra muros civitatis Messanæ, quod Mategriffun vocaverunt. Griffones vero, ante adventum regis Angliæ, erant potentiores omnibus qui erant in terra Siciliæ: et odio habebant omnes homines ultramontanos; adeo quod minimo habebant illos interficere: nec erat qui adjuvaret. Sed ex quo rex Angliæ illuc venit, malitia eorum quievit, et potestas eorum minuta est, et facti sunt viliores omnibus inhabitantibus terram illam. Et sperantes se posse contra regem Angliæ, sicut potue- Hoveden, 386. b. 9.

[1] *Caripdim*] Charybdim, Hoveden.

[2] Hoveden continues the description of Scylla and Charybdis for several lines.

Hoveden, 386. b. 16. runt contra cæteros in diebus antiquis, inciderunt in foveam quam fecerant, et facti sunt profugi in terra. Gens autem Angliæ in maxima habebatur reverentia in regno Siciliæ. Et impletum est propheticum illud quod antiquitus scriptum inveniebatur in tabulis lapideis prope villam regis Angliæ quæ dicitur Here, quam rex Henricus dederat Ranulfo filio Stephani: in qua idem Ranulfus domum magnam construxit, in cujus pinnaculo effigiem cervi statuit: quod factum fuisse creditur ut adimpleretur vaticinium illud quod dicitur,

A.D. 1190. November. Fulfilment of a curious prophecy.

Hoveden, 386. b. 24.

Zan . ȝu . seches . in . here, hert . yreret.
Zan sulen Hengles in ȝre be ydeled
Zat han sale into Hyrlande alto ladewaya
Zat hoȝer into Poile mid pride bileve
Ze thirde in hayre haughen hert alle ydreghe.

Hoveden, 386. b. 30. Deinde rex Ricardus pro amore Dei et pro salute animæ suæ, et animæ patris sui, et omnium antecessorum suorum et successorum regum Angliæ, quietum clamavit in perpetuum Wurek per totam Angliam et ultra mare: statuens quod omnis naufragus qui ad terram vivus pervenerit omnes res suas liberas et quietas habeat. Si autem in navi mortuus fuerit, filii vel

Richard renounces the royal right to wreck, in favour of the saved and the heirs of the lost.

[1] Hoveden's version is as follows:—
When thu seches in Here hert yreret,
Than sulen Engles in three be ydeled;
That han sal into Yrland altolate way,
That other into Puille mid prude bi seve,
The thridde into Airhahen herd alle Wreke y drechegen.

Hoveden calls the owner of Here, which is, perhaps, Harford in Devonshire, William Fitz Stephen.

Hearne, from Wanley, gives a conjectural emendation:—
Whan þu seest in Here hert yrered,
Þan sulen Engles in þre be ydeled;
Þat an sal into Irland alto lede wey
Þat oþer into Pule mid beleve,
Þe þride in hire aȝen hert alle wreke ydreghe.

The prophecy translated into modern English seems to be,—

When thou seest in Here, hart reared; then shall English in three be dealed. The one shall into Ireland allto lead way: the other into Apulia, with pride, in speed: the third in their own heart all sorrow endure.

A.D. 1190. October. filiæ, fratres aut sorores ejus habeant res suas secundum quod ostendere poterint se esse propinquiores illius hæredes: vel si defunctus nec filios nec filias, fratres nec sorores habuerit, rex catalla habeat. Hanc autem quietam clamantiam de wrech, fecit rex Ricardus, et carta sua confirmavit, anno secundo regni sui, mense Octobri, apud Messanam; testibus his, Waltero Rotomagensi archiepiscopo, Girardo[1] Auxiensi archiepiscopo, Johanne Ebroicensi et Bernardo Baonicensi episcopis, et multis aliis tam clericis quam laicis de familia regis Angliæ. Carta vero data fuit per manum magistri Rogeri Mali Catuli, vice cancellarii regis.[2]

Hoveden, 386. b. 33.

Quitclaim of wreck.

fo. 157 v°.

May to August. Henry king of the Germans claims Sicily, and sends an army into Apulia.

Hoveden, 378. a. 37, shorter.

Eodem anno Henricus rex Alemannorum, cum audisset quod Willelmus rex Siciliæ mortuus esset, calumniatus est regnum Siciliæ, et ducatum Apuliæ et principatum Capuæ, de jure Constantiæ uxoris suæ. Et misit archiepiscopum Mauguntinum[3] et Henricum Teste[4] cum magno exercitu in Apuliam ad subjiciendum eam sibi. Qui intrantes Apuliam in manu hostili, moram fecerunt in ea mense Maii et Junii et dimidio mensis Augusti, vastantes terram et parum proficientes, licet comes Rogerus de Andria[5] et multi alii, memores sacramenti quod fecerant Constantiæ uxori prædicti regis Alemannorum, illis adhæsissent et auxilium suum præstitissent contra Tancredum regem Siciliæ. Et cum fere totam Apuliam exceptis civitatibus et castellis devastassent, tandem imperfecto negotio domini sui in patriam suam redierunt.

The count of Andria takes part against Tancred.

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[1] *Girardo*] Gaufrido, B. J.

[2] This is the first appearance of Roger Malus Catulus (Machell) as vice-chancellor; but he had probably filled the office since the embarkation at Marseilles, John of Alençon being left in Normandy as vice-chancellor there. There is a charter of March 27, 1191, printed in the Fœdera, i. 53, to which Roger's name is attached. He was drowned off Cyprus on the 24th of April 1191.

[3] Conrad of Wittelsbach.

[4] "Henricum Testam, imperii "marescalcum." R. de S. Germano, ap. Ughelli, Italia Sacra, iii. 956. The count of Pappenheim was the hereditary marshal of the imperial court.

[5] Master justiciar under William II. Ib. 954.

Hoveden, 386. b. 41.

A.D. 1190.

The pagan subjects of king William retreat into the mountains.

Eodem anno, plusquam centum millia paganorum virorum ac mulierum, qui in regno Siciliæ erant servi Willelmi regis Siciliæ, post mortem ejus indignati sunt servire regi Tancredo, tum quia rex Alemannorum calumniatus est regnum Siciliæ, tum quia rex Angliæ infestavit regem Tancredum: et abierunt in montana cum mulieribus, cum filiis et filiabus et pecoribus suis, et habitaverunt ibi, et multa [mala] fecerunt Christianis.

They submit to Tancred.

Sed cum audissent quod pax et finalis concordia esset inter regem Angliæ et regem Tancredum, redierunt in servitutem Tancredi; et datis ei obsidibus reversi sunt in domos suas, colentes terram sicut consueverant.

Hoveden, 378. a. 40.

Roger of Andria taken prisoner.

Deinde post recessum Alemannorum, Ricardus comes de Cerne,[1] frater uxoris regis Tancredi, congressus in bello cum comite Rogero de Andria, cepit eum et tradidit regi Tancredo.

Hoveden, 387. a. 20.

Death of the queen of Jerusalem.

Eodem anno, Sibylla regina Jerusalem, uxor Widonis regis, et duæ filiæ ejus, obierunt[2] in obsidione Acræ. Quibus defunctis, Conradus marchio de Munferrad abstulit Amfrido del Turun uxorem suam, sororem prædictæ Sibyllæ reginæ Jerusalem et hæredem illius:

Divorce of the heiress.

et per consilium matris mulieris illius, et per consilium Heraclii patriarchæ, et aliorum quorundam, factum est divortium inter ipsam et Amphridum de Turun maritum ejus.

Her marriage with Conrad of Montferrat.

Illa vero post divortium, per consilium omnium primatum terræ illius, data est ipsi Conrado marchioni in uxorem: qui statim petiit sibi regnum Jerosolimitanum concedi a prædicto patriarcha et a

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[1] Sibylla, the wife of Tancred, was a daughter of count Robert of Lucera.

[2] Sibylla and her children died before Oct. 21, 1190 (Epp. Cantuar. 329), and the marriage of Conrad and Isabella was probably celebrated by the bishop of Beauvais after the 19th of November, on which day archbishop Baldwin, who had excommunicated the royal couple, died (Itiner. R. R. 122; Gervase, 1566). As the Itinerarium R. R. states that the capture of the butler of Senlis took place on the wedding day, and Monachus of Florence places that event on the morrow of S. Clement, we may, I think, conclude that the marriage took place on Nov. 24.

A.D. 1190. Strife between Guy and Conrad.

cæteris primatibus regni. Gwido autem rex dicebat hoc non debere fieri illo vivente. Hinc ergo orta est discordia inter Gwidonem et Conradum; et in tantum excrevit quod ipse Conradus, expulso Gwidone, regni jura obtinuit. Hoveden, 387. a. 32.

July 25. fo. 158 r°. Unsuccessful sally from the camp at Acre.

Eodem anno, mense Augusti, die Sancti Jacobi Apostoli, decem millia juvenum proborum et bene armatorum exierunt de exercitu Acræ contra prohibitionem regis et patriarchæ et cæterorum magnatum exercitus, et commiserunt prælium cum Saladino; et prævaluit Saladinus, et fere omnes occidit. Pauci tamen eorum evaserunt auxilio Radulfi de Halterive archidiaconi de Colecestre. Hoveden, 387. a. 12.

November. Death of Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury. The monks depose prior Osbert. (May, 1191.)

Eodem anno obiit in obsidione Acræ Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus.[1] Quo defuncto, monachi Cantuarienses deposuerunt priorem suum Osbertum de Bristou, quem idem archiepiscopus et Ricardus rex Angliæ constituerant priorem in ecclesia Sanctæ Trinitatis Cantuariæ; et alium in loco ipsius fecerunt priorem.[2]

The duke of Swabia comes to Acre. (Oct. 3, Bohadin, 140.)

Eodem anno Conradus[3] dux Suaviæ, filius Frederici Romanorum imperatoris, venit ad exercitum Acræ cum magno exercitu Teutonicorum et Alemannorum, et paulo post obiit in obsidione Acræ. Hoveden, 386. b. 50.

December. Thunderstorm at Messina. (Dec. 19, Hoveden.)

Eodem anno, mense Decembris, audita sunt tonitrua magna in Sicilia apud Messanam, et fulgura multa præcedebant; et omnis exercitus regum Franciæ et Angliæ exterritus est præ timore. Ictus enim fulminis cecidit in unam galeam regis Angliæ, et demersit eam in profundum: percussitque murum civitatis Messanæ, et contrivit magnam [partem] illius. Milites autem et servientes qui erant in monasterio Griffonum, in quo Hoveden, 387. a. 36, longer.

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[1] Nov. 19, Gervase. Nov. 20. Ob. Cantuar.

[2] This was done May 10, 1191. Epp. Cantuar. 334; Gerv. 1570.

[3] This is Frederick duke of Swabia. Conrad was his younger brother. Frederick died Jan. 20, 1191, at Acre.

Hoveden, 387. a. 41. erant thesauri regis Angliæ, dixerunt pro certo se vidisse globum igneum super pinnam templi prædictorum Griffonum, qui non erat comburens sed illuminans: et ibidem moram fecit, donec cessavit tempestas; et cessante tempestate recessit lumen illud. Admirantibus autem illis, et diligenter inquirentibus quid hoc esset, Griffones ibidem jugiter Deo servientes responderunt quod sic semper evenit quando tempestas fit. A.D. 1190. Dec. 19. Singular appearance during the storm.

De fastu Willelmi Eliensis episcopi.

Hoveden, 387. b. 1. Eodem anno, Willelmus Eliensis episcopus, apostolicæ sedis legatus, et domini regis Angliæ justitiarius, quicquid facere voluit in regno fecit: socium aut parem sibi neminem putabat in regno, nec etiam Johannem fratrem regis comitem Moretoniæ. Ipse quidem castella, prædia, abbatias, et omnia jura regis sibi vendicabat auctoritate legationis suæ. Ad abbatias et prioratus, et ad alias religiosorum domos hospitaturus veniebat in tanta superfluitate hominum et equorum et canum et avium, quod domus in qua ipse una nocte hospitabatur, vix infra tres annos subsequentes in pristinum statum redire posset. Laicis vero et clericis ecclesias, terras et possessiones suas abstulit, quas aut nepotibus suis aut clericis et servientibus erogabat, aut damnabiliter sibi retinebat, aut in usus extraordinarios dilapidabat. Nonne considerabat infelix quod moriturus erat? Nonne cogitabat quia Dominus ab unoquoque suæ villicationis rationem aut sui principatus honorem requiret? Sed bene de talibus dicitur, Arrogance of the bishop of Ely. His oppressive visits to the monasteries.

Claudian, In Eutropium, 181-184.

"Asperius nihil est humili cum surgit in altum,
"Cuncta ferit, dum cuncta tenet, desævit in omnes,
"Ut se posse putet, nec bestia sævior ulla
"Quam servi rabies in libera terga furentis."

Hoveden, 387. b. 20. Eodem anno, tertia die post festum Sancti Michaelis, exierunt Saraceni a civitate Acræ circiter quatuor Oct. 1. fo. 158 v°.

A.D. 1190. Oct. 1. Sally of the Saracens from Acre repulsed. Nov. 11. A second sally defeated.

millia, armati; et combusserunt quatuor hurdicios per ignem Græcum; sed viliter retrusi sunt per milites exercitus armatos, et amiserunt viginti tres Turcos occisos præter vulneratos. Deinde ad festum Sancti Martini, exierunt iterum Saraceni a civitate Acræ, et impetum fecerunt in Christianos, qui viriliter restiterunt eis. Et Baldewinus de Carun, et Walterus de Oyri, et Baldewinus de Dargis, bene sustinuerunt impetum illorum donec comes Henricus[1] et Gaufridus de Lesinan cum Templariis supervenirent. Qui cum tanto impetu coegerunt paganos retroire,[2] quod pagani amiserunt in illa fuga quadraginta homines occisos et multos vulneratos. Hoveden. 387. b. 21.

December. The crusaders attempt an escalade. They are repulsed, but the English save their ladder.

Deinde inter festum Sancti Andreæ et Natale Domini, fuit totus exercitus Christianorum armatus, et volebat insultum facere in civitatem Acræ. Et Alemanni et Angli traxerunt scalas ad fossata; et exierunt a civitate pagani, et abstulerunt Alemannis scalas suas, et Anglos fugaverunt a fossato, et funes ligaverunt super scalam Anglorum, volentes eam infra civitatem trahere. Sed Radulfus de Tilli,[3] et Humfridus de Velli, et Robertus de la Lande, et Rogerus de Glanvil ascenderunt super scalam, et quater exstinxerunt ignem Græcum injectum. Radulfus vero de Tilli propius accedens, abscidit cum gladio suo funes, et sic liberavit scalam illam a manibus paganorum. Hoveden, 387. b. 29.

Famine from December to February.

Deinde inter festum Sancti Andreæ et Natale Domini, incepit fames in exercitu Christiano, et duravit usque Purificationem Sanctæ Mariæ. Hoveden, 387. b. 37.

Et in tantum excrevit quod unus panis, qui vix Hoveden, 386. b. 54.

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[1] Of Champagne, afterwards king of Jerusalem, 1192.

[2] This seems to be the battle of Nov. 12 (Itin. R. R. 115), after which Saladin retired from Tel Ajadia to Tel Caisan. Bohadin, 148.

[3] Ralph de Tilli was constable to Roger archbishop of York, in 1174 (vol. i., p. 65). Roger Glanvill was sheriff of Cumberland in 1 Rich. I., and had been a baron of the Exchequer in 30 Henry II.

Hoveden, 387. a. 1, shorter. sufficiebat uni soli homini ad prandium, vendebatur pro decem solidis Andegavensis monetæ. Caro vero equina erat illis in deliciis; et suma unius equi de frumento vendebatur pro ducentis bisantiis. Et cum fames illa excrevisset iterum ut fere omnes perirent fame et inopia, venit clamor populi ad Hubertum Walteri episcopum Salesbiriensem. Et ipse, Divina inspirante gratia, convenit principes exercitus, et consilio eorum statuit collectam ad opus pauperum exercitus. Et tantum incrementum dedit Dominus collectæ illi, quod sufficiebat sustentationi omnium donec Largitor bonorum omnium Deus prospiciens ex alto, misit eis abundantiam frumenti, et vini et olei. Tertia enim die post collectam pauperibus distributam, venerunt naves onustæ frumento, vino et oleo, et fecerunt forum bonum; ita quod summa equi de frumento, quæ vendebatur pro ducentis bisantiis pro sex data fuit bisantiis.

A.D. 1190. December. Famine among the besiegers at Acre. Arrival of provisions.

Hoveden, 387. b. 39. Eodem anno cum Henricus rex Alemannorum audisset quod Fredericus Romanorum imperator pater suus mortuus esset; reddidit Henrico duci Saxoniæ universa quæ pater suus ei abstulerat; et incrementum dedit ei decem castella optima. Similiter fecit cæteris omnibus a quibuscumque pater suus aliquid abstulerat, reddens unicuique quod suum erat.

Peace between Henry VI. and Henry the Lion.

Hoveden, 387. b. 43, shorter. Pacatis[1] itaque sibi omnibus hominibus suis, misit nuncios suos ad Clementem papam et ad senatores urbis Romanæ, petens sibi Romanum imperium, et promittens se in omnibus leges et dignitates Romanas servaturum illæsas. Clemens vero papa, habito cum senatoribus et populo Romano super petitionibus regis Alemannorum cum deliberatione consilio; respondit rem bene processuram si idem rex Alemannorum consilio et voluntati ejus et senatorum adquieverit. Erat

Henry VI. sends to Rome to demand the empire. fo. 159 r°.

[1] The peace of Fulda, between Henry VI. and Henry the Lion, is said to have been concluded in July. Prutz, Heinrich der Löwe, p. 394. Henry VI. does not seem to have heard of his father's death before November. V. Chr. Godefr. Mon. (ap. Freher. i. 354.)

A.D. 1190. The pope returns a favourable answer. enim de consilio eorum quod illum in dominum et in imperatorem reciperent, si ipse jurasset se leges et dignitates servaturum illibatas. Clemens itaque summus pontifex, accersitis coram illo et senatu Romanorum nunciis Henrici regis Alemannorum, mandavit prædicto regi quod ipse et Romani reciperent eum in imperatorem.

Marriage of David of Scotland. Eodem anno David frater Willelmi regis Scotiæ duxit sibi in uxorem sororem Ranulfi comitis Cestriæ. Hoveden, 387. b. 51.

Bucard the treasurer of York goes to Rome, and hinders the confirmation of Geoffrey to the see of York. Eodem anno orta iterum seditione inter Gaufridum Eboracensem archiepiscopum et Bucardum ejusdem ecclesiæ thesaurarium, idem Buccardus Clementem papam adiit, et absolvi meruit a vinculo excommunicationis quo Eboracensis electus eum innodaverat; et negotium Eboracensis electi adeo impedivit adversus summum pontificem, quod nec confirmare electionem suam voluit, nec ei pallium mittere. Præterea præfatus papa privilegiavit Hugonem Dunelmensem episcopum, ne ipse professionem aliquam aut subjectionem faceret Gaufrido Eboracensi electo, nec si ipse fuerit in archiepiscopum consecratus.[1] Hoveden, 387. b. 52.

Confessio Ricardi regis.

Richard does penance at Messina. Interim Ricardus rex Angliæ, Divina inspirante gratia, recordatus est fœditatis vitæ suæ: vepres enim libidinis excreverant caput illius, et non erant eradicantis manus. Sed Solus Deus, Qui non vult mortem peccatoris, sed ut convertatur et vivat, respexit eum oculis Misericordiæ Suæ; et dedit illi cor pœnitens; adeo quod ille, convocatis[2] universis archiepiscopis et episcopis suis, qui aderant, nudus, portans in manibus tria flagella facta de virgis lævigatis, procidit ad pedes eorum, Hoveden, 388. a. 7, shorter.

[1] Hoveden adds, "ea ratione "quod idem Dunelmensis episco"pus semel fecerat professionem "suam Eboracensi ecclesiæ, et "beato Willelmo, tunc temporis "Eboracensis ecclesiæ archiepi"scopo, et ejus catholicis succes"soribus."

[2] "in unum in capella Reginaldi "de Moyac." Add. Hoveden.

Hoveden, 388. a. 10, shorter. A.D. 1190. He receives absolution, and forsakes his sin.

et peccatorum suorum fœditatem coram illis confiteri non erubuit, cum tanta humilitate et cordis contritione quod credatur sine dubio Illius opus exstitisse Qui respicit terram et facit eam tremere. Deinde peccatum illud abjuravit, et a prædictis episcopis pœnitentiam condignam suscepit; et ab illa hora factus vir timens Deum et faciens bona, ulterius non est reversus ad iniquitatem suam. O felicem illum qui sic cadit ut fortior surgat! O felicem illum qui post pœnitentiam non est relapsus in culpam.

Dispute between Clement III and the Romans.

Eodem anno orta est gravis dissensio inter Romanos et papam Clementem, quæ nunquam quievit donec idem papa conventionaverat tradere eis civitatem suam Tusculanam ad destruendum; erat enim semper contraria, et eam odio habebant. Idem vero papa eos protrahens de die in diem, tradere eam illis distulit.

Hæc sunt nomina quorundam nobilium defunctorum eodem anno in obsidione Acræ.

Hoveden, 390. a. 50. List of those who died at Acre.

Sibylla regina, uxor Gwidonis regis Jerusalem, et duæ filiæ ejus;[1] Heraclius patriarcha Jerusalem; Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus;[2] archiepiscopus de Nazareth, archiepiscopus de Besenzun,[3] archiepiscopus de Arle la Blanche; archiepiscopus de Monte Regali; episcopus de Sydoni, novus episcopus de Acra, episcopus de Baruth, episcopus de Sancto Georgio; episcopus de Sancto Habraam, episcopus de Tabaria; abbas de Templo Domini; abbas de Monte Syon; abbas de Monte Oliveti; abbas de Fordet,[4] prior Sancti Sepulcri, Radulfus archidiaconus Colecestriæ, Rogerus le Habe,[5] Fo. 159 v°.

[1] Sibylla and her children, before Oct. 21, 1190.

[2] Baldwin, Nov. 19 or 20, 1190.

[3] Thierri of Montfaucon, d. Nov. 23, 1191. Gall Chr. i. 127.

[4] *Fordet*] Forde, H. Perhaps we should read *Ford, et.* Robert abbot of Ford died about 1190.

[5] Rogerus le Abbe, Hoveden.

A.D. 1190. List of the dead, on the crusade.

Sylvester[1] senescallus Cantuariensis archiepiscopi; Johannes de Morwic canonicus Eboracensis.

Fredericus Romanorum imperator obiit[2] in eundo versus terram Jerusalem, submersus in fluvio qui dicitur Salef. Et Conradus[3] filius, dux Suaviæ, obiit in obsidione Acræ. Robertus comes Leicestriæ in Rumania, in eundo versus terram Jerusalem. Landegravus[4] de Alemannia in Rumania in redeundo. Johannes[5] constabularius Cestriæ in terra Jerusalem apud Tyrum, Robertus[6] comes de Pertico in obsidione Acræ. Comes de Puntyf,[7] et Teobaldus comes de Blays,[8] et Stephanus comes de Sauneis,[9] frater ejus. Willelmus comes de Ferrers, dux Bertoldus de Alemannia,[10] Rogerus[11] comes de Apulia, comes de Brenes[12] et Andreas frater ejus.[13] Hoveden, 390. b. 3.

Those slain in battle or taken prisoners.

Isti occisi sunt in prælio: Lodowicus de Arseles, Hugo de Hoiri, Walterus de Moy, Gwido de Danci, Odo de Gunes, Reginaldus de Magni. Pincerna de Sain Liz[14] captus est a paganis, et marescallus comitis Henrici.[15] Hoveden, 390. b. 12.

Isti obierunt eodem anno in obsidione Acræ; vicecomes de Turonia,[16] Gillebertus de Tillers, Florentius Hoveden, 390. b. 15.

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[1] *Sylvester*] See Epp. Cantuar. 8, 25.

[2] June 10, 1190.

[3] Frederick, d. Jan. 20, 1191. Chron. Reichersperg, 343.

[4] Louis III. of Thuringia, d. Oct. 16, 1190. Wilken, iv. 287.

[5] De Lacy, d. Oct. 11. Mon. Angl. v. 533.

[6] Rotrou III., 1144–1190.

[7] John I., 1147–1191.

[8] Theobald died the same day as Frederick of Swabia, Jan. 20, 1191. Bohadin, 157.

[9] The count of Sancerre d. before Oct. 21, 1190, as did also the earl of Ferrers. Epp. Cantuar. 329.

[10] Both Berhtold V. of Zähringen and Berhtold V. of Meran were in the crusade, and both returned home safely. The person meant here may be Frederick, the son of Berhtold V. of Meran, who died at Acre.

[11] Son of king Tancred. Hoveden adds, "Jocelinus comes de "Apulia."

[12] Erard.

[13] Andrew of Brienne. d. Oct. 4, 1189. Itin. R. R. 71. Hoveden adds, "Ingeram de Fenes, occisus."

[14] William of Senlis, grand butler. See Itiner. R. R. 122. He was captured Nov. 24, 1190.

[15] William of Villehardouin (?). See Du Cange's Villehardouin, 236.

[16] Raymond II., viscount of Turenne, 1143–1190. Hoveden adds here, "dominus de Wanci."

Hoveden, 390. b. 16. de Angest,[1] Jocelinus de Munmorenc, vicecomes de Castello Haraldi; Anselmus de Monte Regali et tota familia ejus; vicecomes de Castelun et mater ejus; Johannes comes Vendomiæ;[2] castellanus de Ypre; Gaufridus la Bruiere; Robertus de Boves; Adam[3] camberlanus regis Franciæ, Adam de Loum, Willelmus de Pinkenni[4] castellanus, Rogerus de Pole baro, Robertus senescallus Willelmi de Mandevil. A.D. 1190. List of those who died at Acre.

Hoveden, 390. b. 21, shorter. Henricus de Braeley et Johannes de Malepalu obierunt apud Cataine potionati. Ranulfus de Glanvil,[5] justitiarius regis Angliæ, obiit in obsidione Acræ; Bernardus de Sancto Valerico junior, Ricardus de Clare, Gwido de Castellun;[6] Radulfus persona de Croxebi, Ricardus de Lexebi, et Berenger frater ejus, Robertus le Venur del Pumfrait, Robertus Scrop de Bartun; Ranulfus de Tange, Henricus Pigot senescallus comitis de Warenna, Walterus Scrop, Walterus de Kyma filius Philippi de Kyma, Johannes de Lamburne, Walterus de Ros frater Petri de Ros.[7] Englishmen who died on the crusade.

In secundo anno comes Flandriæ Philippus,[8] et Radulfus clericus de dispensa regis. Deaths in 1191.

In tertio anno obierunt apud Acram, Radulfus de Aubeni, Nigellus de Mumbray projectus in mare, Simon de Wale projectus in mare.

Item; in tertio anno Ricardus de Camvil apud Acram;[9] Willelmus de Kamvil projectus in mare; Bertram de

[1] Florence III. count of Holland, d. at Antioch, Aug. 1, 1190 (J. de Beka, 57) (?).

[2] John count of Vendome, d. in 1192, after his return. Art de Verif. les Dates, xii. 493.

[3] Adam de Villebeon (perhaps a son of the chamberlain, Walter de Villebeon).

[4] The viscount of Pecquigny, d. July 1192. Hoveden, 408.

[5] Ranulf Glanvill, Bernard of S. Valery, and Richard of Clare, d. before Oct. 21, 1190. Epp. Cantuar. 329.

[6] Guy of Châtillon, lord of Montjai.

[7] It is worth observing that the last eleven names are nearly all those of Yorkshire or Lincolnshire men.

[8] Philip died at Acre, June 1, 1191. Hoveden, 394.

[9] June 1191. See below.

A.D. 1190. Deaths among the crusaders, (down to July 1192).

Verdun apud Jopen, Gillebertus Pipard[1] apud Brandiz, Jaches de Avennis occisus,[2] Drogo filius Radulfi[3] apud Acram, Willelmus filius Nigelli de Kent[4] apud Acram; Willelmus[5] filius Philippi Baro apud Acram, et Reginaldus de Suffeld, Reiner vicecomes Eboraci in insula de Cypre, Hugo dux Burgundiæ apud Acram,[6] Marchio[7] occisus ab Assasisis, et Osmundus de Stutevil apud Joppen,[8] Robertus Wacelin clericus apud Acram.

fo. 160 r°. The kings keep Christmas of 1190-91 at Messina. Quarrels among the sailors, Dec. 25.

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini nostri Jesu Christi M°C°XC°I°., Philippus rex Franciæ et Ricardus rex Angliæ fuerunt simul in Sicilia apud Messanam die Nativitatis Dominicæ, quæ feria tertia evenit. Et in ipso die Nativitatis Dominicæ post prandium, Pisani et Januenses seditiose fecerunt impetum in galiotas regis Angliæ, et mutuo se interfecerunt. Venit ergo rumor ad aures regis Angliæ, qui adhuc sedebat ad mensam in Mategrifion castello suo; et epulabatur cum eo, die illa, Reinaldus[9] Carnotensis episcopus, et Hugo dux Burgundiæ, et Willelmus[10] comes de Neverz, et Willelmus[11] comes de Juvenni, et Gaufridus comes de Pertico, et tota fere familia regis Franciæ. Et velocius surrexerunt omnes viri illi, et rex et illi processerunt armati ad pugnam illam dirimendam, nec poterant: sed nocte superveniente separati sunt ab invicem usque mane. Hoveden, 391. a. 20.

The rioters are dispersed.

Dec. 26. The tumult renewed.

Mane autem facto, cum populus convenisset in ecclesia Sancti Johannis Hospitalis ad audiendum Divinum officium, quidam Pisanus extracto cultello quen- Hoveden, 391. a. 30.

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[1] Sheriff of Lincolnshire 1 Rich. I., &c. See above, vol. i., p. 108.

[2] At the battle of Arsûf, Sept. 1, 1191.

[3] Sheriff of Lincolnshire 23 Hen. II.

[4] William Fitz-Neal, the steward of S. Thomas of Canterbury.

[5] See Epp. Cantuar. 134, 143.

[6] July 1192.

[7] April 28, 1192.

[8] August 1192 (?)

[9] Reginald de Monçon, 1187–1217.

[10] Peter of Courtenay had the title of count of Nevers in the right of his wife Agnes. See above, p. 7.

[11] William I., count of Joigny.

Hoveden, 391. a. 31. dam galiotarum interfecit; et sic Pisani iterum et galiotæ congressi sunt, et multi ceciderunt ex utraque parte interfecti. Venerunt ergo rex Franciæ et rex Angliæ cum multa plebe armata; et pacem fecerunt inter eos. A.D. 1190. Dec. 26. The kings make peace.

Hoveden, 388. a. 17, with variations. In illo tempore erat quidam abbas in Calabria de ordine Cisterciensi, dictus Joachim abbas de Curacio,[1] spiritum habens propheticum, ventura populo prædicebat. Rex autem Angliæ libenter illius audiebat prophetias et sapientiam et doctrinam. Eruditus enim erat in Divinis Scripturis, et interpretabatur visiones beati Johannis Evangelistæ quas vidit, sicut ipse narrat in Apocalypsi, quam ipse manu sua scripsit; in quibus audiendis rex et sui plurimum delectabantur. Abbot Joachim visits king Richard.

Hoveden, 388. a. 25. Rev. xii. 1-6. Locus autem hic erat, "Mulier amicta sole, et luna "sub pedibus ejus; et in capite ejus corona stellarum "duodecim, et pariens cruciabatur ut pareret. Et ecce "draco magnus rufus habens capita septem, et cornua "decem, et in capitibus ejus septem diademata, et "cauda ejus trahebat tertiam partem stellarum cœli, "et misit eas in terram. Qui stetit ante mulierem "quæ paritura erat; ut cum peperisset filium ejus "devoraret. Mulier autem peperit filium masculum, "qui recturus erat omnes gentes in virga ferrea. Et "raptus est filius ejus ad Deum et ad thronum Ejus. "Mulier autem fugit in solitudinem, ubi habet locum "paratum a Deo, ut pascat eam ibi diebus MCCLX." He discusses a passage in the Revelation.

Hoveden, 388. a. 33. Hujus igitur visionis interpretatio, secundum Joachim abbatem de Curacio talis est: "Mulier amicta "sole et luna sub pedibus ejus," significat sanctam ecclesiam, Sole justitiæ, Qui est Christus Dominus, obumbratam et amictam: sub cujus pedibus mundus Joachim's exposition.

[1] Joachim, abbot of the Cistercian monastery at Corazzo, and, in 1189, founder of the order of Fiore, died in 1202, at the age of 90. His exposition of the Apocalypse was printed at Venice in 1527. The passages given above as representing his views are not from this book, but coincide so far with it, as to appear to be the work of a person who had conversed with him.

A.D. 1191. fo. 160 v°.

Joachim explains who are the seven heads of the dragon.

Hoveden. 388. a. 36.

iste cum vitiis et concupiscentiis suis semper est conculcandus. "Et in capite ejus corona stellarum duo-"decim;" Caput ecclesiæ Christus est; corona ecclesiæ fides catholica quam duodecim prædicaverunt apostoli. "Et pariens cruciabatur ut pareret," significat sanctam ecclesiam semper gaudentem novo fœtu, ac ut animas lucrifaciat Deo laborans cruciatur. "Et ecce draco "magnus rufus, habens capita septem, et cornua de-"cem," significat diabolum qui bene dicitur septem habere capita:—caput diaboli omnis iniquus est; septem ponit, quasi finitum pro infinito. Infinita sunt enim capita diaboli, id est, persecutores ecclesiæ et iniqui, de quibus licet infinita sint, tamen idem Joachim in expositione sua septem ponit principales ecclesiæ persecutores, quorum hæc sunt nomina, Herodes, Nero, Constantius, Maumet, Melsemutus,[1] Saladinus, Antichristus: et de his dicit beatus Johannes Evangelista in Apocalypsi, "reges septem sunt; quinque "ceciderunt, et unus est, et unus nondum venit." Quod idem Joachim interpretatur dicens, reges septem, scilicet Herodes, Nero, Constantius, Maumet, Melsemutus, Saladinus, Antichristus; ex his quinque ceciderunt, scilicet Herodes, Nero, Constantius, Maumet, Melsemutus; et unus est, scilicet Saladinus, qui in præsenti opprimit ecclesiam Dei, et eam cum sepulcro Domini, et sancta civitate Jerusalem, et cum terra in qua steterunt pedes Domini, in servitutem redigit; et ipse in proximo amittet regnum Jerosolimitanum et interficietur; et milvorum rapacitas peribit, et erit illorum strages maxima, qualis non fuit ab initio mundi; et fiet habitatio eorum deserta, et civitates illorum desolabuntur; et Christiani revertentur ad amissa pascua, et nidificabunt in eis.

Saladin is the sixth head, and is shortly to fall.

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[1] *Melsemutus*] The name of Massamuti is given by Robert de Monte (A.D. 1154, &c.) to the Almohades. Hugo Falcandi calls them Masmudi (ed. Fazello, p. 648); D'Herbelot (Bibliothèque Orientale, 626), Mossamedoun. The person called Melsemutus was probably Abdalmumen, the founder of the sect and dynasty.

A.D. 1191.

Richard is to be victorious.

[1] Et conversus ad regem Angliæ ait, "Hæc omnia "reservavit Dominus et per te fieri permittet, Qui "dabit tibi de inimicis tuis victoriam, et Ipse nomen "tuum glorificabit in æternum, et tu Ipsum glorificabis, "et in te Ipse glorificabitur, si in opere cœpto per-"severaveris." "Et unus nondum venit," id est Antichristus. De isto Antichristo dicit idem abbas de Curacio, sentire quod jam natus est, quindecim annos habens a nativitate: sed in potestate sua nondum venit.

Antichrist is yet to come, but is already born, and now fifteen years old.

Abbot Joachim tells Richard that Antichrist is born at Rome, and will occupy the apostolic see.

Admirantibus autem cunctis super his quæ ab illo audiebant, dixit ei rex "Ubi est Antichristus natus? "Et ubi regnaturus est?" Respondit ei Joachim coram Waltero Rotomagensi archiepiscopo, N. de Appamia, et Girardo Auxiensi archiepiscopis; et Johanne Ebroicensi, et Bernardo Baoniensi, episcopis, et coram multis aliis honestis viris tam clericis quam laicis, quod Antichristus ille in urbe Romana jam natus esse creditur, et in ea sedem apostolicam obtinebit, de quo dicit Apostolus, "et adversatur et extollitur supra

Hoveden, 388. b. 3.

[1] Hoveden's variations at this point are so very curious that I give them here in full. Instead of *in servitutem redigit*, he goes on, "occupatam detinet, sed ipse in "proximo perdet illam. Tunc in-"terrogavit rex Angliæ, 'Quando "erit hoc?' Cui Joachim respondit, "'Quando septem anni clapsi erunt "'a die captionis Jerusalem.' Tunc "ait rex Angliæ, 'Ergo quare ve-"'nimus huc tam cito?' Cui "Joachim respondit, 'Adventus "'tuus valde necessarius est, quia "'Dominus dabit tibi victoriam de "'inimicis Suis, et exaltabit nomen "'tuum super omnes principes "'terræ.'" It would appear from this that the text was originally written before the death of Saladin, who was not killed, but died a natural death; and before the failure of Richard's crusade, the success of which is here predicted. Hoveden, on the other hand, writing after the event, retrenches all that is definite in the prophecy relating to Richard, and omits all reference to the death of Saladin. It is possible, however, that Hoveden's version was written before 1194, to which year the recovery of Palestine is fixed; or, if written after the death of Saladin in 1193, is intended to suggest a non-natural interpretation of the prophecy of his loss of Palestine. The rest of the discussion is given at greater length in the text than in Hoveden, who omits the king's share in the disputation altogether.

A.D. 1191. "omne quod dicitur Deus aut quod colitur; ita ut in "templo Dei sedeat, ostendens se tanquam sit Deus. "Et tunc revelabitur ille iniquus quem Dominus "Jesus interficiet spiritu oris Sui, et destruet illus-"tratione adventus Sui." Cui rex ait, "Si Anti-"christus in Roma natus est, et ibi sedem apostoli-"cam possidebit, scio quod ipse est ille Clemens qui "modo papa est." Hæc autem dicebat quia papam illum odio habebat.

Hoveden, 388. b. 3, shorter.

fo. 161 r°.

Richard declares that pope Clement III. must be Antichrist.

2 Thess. ii. 4, 8.

Richard's own opinion about Antichrist.

Et iterum ait rex, "Putabam quod Antichristus "nasceretur in Babylonia, vel in Antiochia, de stirpe "Dan, et regnaret in Templo Dei, quod est in Jeru-"salem, et in terra illa ambularet ubi steterunt pedes "Domini; et regnaret per tres annos et dimidium "anni; et disputaret cum Enoch et Helia, et eos in-"terficeret, et postea moreretur; et post mortem ejus "daret Deus pœnitentiam sexaginta dies, in quibus "pœniterent illi qui a via veritatis erraverunt, et "seducti fuerunt per prædicationem Antichristi et "pseudorum prophetarum ejus."

Hoveden, 388. b. 5.

Joachim's exposition of the ten horns.

[1] Sequitur de decem cornibus. "Decem cornua dia-"boli sunt hæreses et schismata quæ hæretici et "schismatici opponunt contra decem præcepta et man-"data Dei." "Et in capitibus ejus septem diade-"mata;" qui sunt reges et principes hujus sæculi qui in illum credituri sunt. "Et cauda ejus trahebat ter-"tiam partem stellarum cœli, et misit eas in terram;" hoc est in fine perdet omnes qui perseverantes in eo crediderint, et mittet eos in gehennam. Draco qui steterat ante mulierem parituram, ut cum peperisset, filium suum devoraret, diabolus est, qui semper insidiatur ecclesiæ, ut partum ejus rapiat, et raptum devoret. Qui ideo bene dicitur stare, quia nunquam declinat a malo, sed semper stat rigidus in malitia sua et inflexibilis in versutia sua fraudis. Vel aliter;

Hoveden, 388. b. 10.

[1] This portion of the prophecy is given at somewhat greater length in Hoveden.

Hoveden, 388. b. 21. cauda ejus significat finem sæculi, in qua surgent quædam gentes iniquæ quæ dicuntur Gog et Magog, et destruent ecclesiam Dei. In tempore autem Antichristi, multi Christianorum in cavernis terræ, et in solitudinibus petrarum morantes, fidem Christianam in timore Dei servabunt, usque ad consummationem Antichristi. A.D. 1191. Abbot Joachim's exposition.

Hoveden, 388. b. 26. Et hoc est quod dicit, "Mulier fugit in desertum "Ægypti, ubi habet locum paratum a Deo ut ibi pascat "eam diebus MCCLX.;" filius autem ejus masculus qui recturus erat omnes gentes in virga ferrea, est Jesus Christus, Qui raptus est ad Deum, et ad thronum Ejus, et avulsus est ab oculis intuentium. Cujus sequaces si fuerimus, perseverantes in mandatis Ejus, rapiemur in aera Illi obviam, et sic cum Illo semper erimus.

Hoveden, 388. b. 32. At licet idem abbas de Curacio prænominatam sententiam proferret de adventu Antichristi, plures tamen et fere omnes viri ecclesiastici in scripturis Divinis plurimum eruditi, nitebantur probare in contrarium; multisque hinc inde prolatis verisimilibus sententiis; tamen adhuc sub judice lis est. His opinions are not generally received.

Hoveden, 391. a. 34. Mense Februarii, die Purificationis Dei genitricis Mariæ, Sabbato, post prandium, Ricardus rex Angliæ et multi milites de familia ejus, et multi de familia regis Franciæ convenerunt, more solito, extra civitatem Messanam pluribus[1] jocis intenti: et cum domum redissent, transitum facientes per medium civitatis, obviaverunt cuidam rustico venienti de villa cum onusto asello arundinibus, quas cannas vocant: de quibus rex Angliæ, et cæteri qui cum eo comitabantur, ceperunt; et unusquisque illorum, alter adversus alterum, congressus est. Feb. 2. Richard and his attendants tilt with reeds. fo. 161 v°.

Hoveden, 391. a. 40. Et contigit quod rex Angliæ et Willelmus de Bares, quidam miles strenuus de familia regis Franciæ, con- Quarrel of Richard

[1] *pluribus*] popularibus, H., with marginal note "al. pluribus."

A.D. 1191. Feb. 2. with William des Barres.

gredientes ad invicem fregerunt arundines suas. Fracta est cappa regis ex percussione Willelmi; unde iratus rex impetum fecit in Willelmum, ita quod ipsum Willelmum et equum suum titubare fecit: et dum intenderet eum dejicere in terram, declinavit sella regis, descenditque celerius rex et protenus alium fortiorem ascendit; iterumque impetum faciens in eundem Willelmum dejicere non valuit: Willelmus enim adhæsit collo equi sui; et comminatus est ei rex. Et cum Robertus de Bretuil, filius Roberti comitis Leicestriæ defuncti, cui rex paulo ante[1] comitatum patris sui dederat, et accinxerat ei gladium comitatus Leicestriæ, injecisset manum in prædictum Willelmum, ut dominum suum regem adjuvaret; "Sustine," ait rex, "et dimitte me et illum solum." Cumque rex et Willelmus et dictis et factis ita diutius contendissent; prorumpens rex ait illi, "Fuge hinc, et cave tibi, ne "amplius coram me compareas, quia amodo et tibi et "tuis ero inimicus perpetuus." Discedens itaque Willelmus propter regis iram et malevolentiam dolens et confusus, abiit ad dominum suum regem Franciæ, consilium et auxilium postulans ab eo super his quæ in via acciderant.

Hoveden, 391. a. 42.

Richard vows perpetual enmity to him.

Feb. 3. The king of France intercedes.

In crastino venit rex Franciæ, ex parte Willelmi, ad regem Angliæ, cum supplici deprecatione pacem et misericordiam postulans, et rex noluit audire illum.

Hoveden, 391. a. 55.

Feb. 4. The nobles intercede for him.

Die sequenti venerunt ad regem comes Carnotensis,[2] et dux Burgundiæ et comes de Neverz pluresque de proceribus Franciæ cum humillimis supplicationibus ad genua ejus provoluti, pro eadem re postulantes; sed nec rex eos audire voluit. Recessit proinde die

Hoveden, 391. b. 1.

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[1] *paulo ante*] die præcedenti, H.

[2] *comes Carnotensis*] archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, Hoveden (Savile). Perhaps we should read "episcopus "Carnotensis;" for the archbishop of Canterbury was dead at Acre, and the count of Chartres, who was better known as count of Blois, was also dead in Palestine. Brompton follows the text. The bishop of Chartres was at Messina: see pp. 128, 150.

Hoveden, 391. b. 6. tertia Willelmus de Bares de civitate Messana, quia eum rex Franciæ noluit retinere contra voluntatem regis Angliæ. Post dies multos, cum tempus transfretandi advenisset, venerunt iterum ad regem Angliæ, rex Franciæ et omnes archiepiscopi et episcopi et comites et barones exercitus, et provoluti ad pedes ejus pacem et misericordiam postulantes pro prædicto Willelmo, ostendentes quæ damna de absentia tanti ac talis militis possent accidere. Tandem cum magna difficultate adversus regem Angliæ obtinuerunt quod Willelmus de Bares in pacem rediret: promittente rege Angliæ nec illi nec suis quicquam damni inquireret nec inferret quamdiu in servitio Dei essent.

A.D. 1191. February. He leaves Messina.

After some time Richard is reconciled with him.

Hoveden, 391. b. 15. Eodem mense Februarii plures de navibus quæ de Anglia venerant dedit regi Franciæ et suis. Thesauros quoque ita profuse distribuit comitibus, baronibus, militibusque et servientibus exercitus, quod nullus prædecessorum suorum unquam vel in anno dederit, quantum tunc donavit in mense Februarii. Unde et favorem donantis creditur promeruisse, quia hilarem datorem diligit Deus. 2 Cor. ix. 7.

Liberality of king Richard.

fo. 162 r°.

Hoveden, 391. b. 19. Eodem mense, multas galeas misit idem rex Angliæ ad Neapolim contra matrem suam Alienor reginam, et contra Berengeram filiam Sanccii regis Navarræ, quam rex ducturus erat in uxorem, et contra Philippum comitem Flandriæ. Prædicta vero Alienor regina et filia regis Navarræ, non potuerunt habere licentiam veniendi ad Messanam ab hominibus regis Tancredi, propter multitudinem hominum comitantium; et profectæ sunt usque Brundusium. Et comes Flandriæ galeas intrans venit ad Messanam.

He sends to meet his mother and Berengaria, at Naples.

Hoveden, 391. b. 31. [1] Eodem mense Februarii, audiens rex Angliæ exces-

[1] Ralph de Diceto gives (c. 659) two letters of Richard; one lodging the supreme power in the hands of William Marshal, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, Hugh Bardolf, and William Brewer, in case of the unfaithfulness of the chancellor. This letter is given in full by Giraldus Cambrensis (Ang. Sac. ii. 396), and contains an order that nothing is to

A.D. 1191. February. Richard sends the archbishop of Rouen to England with a new commission.

sus et importunitates quas cancellarius suus faciebat in Anglia Johanni comiti Moretonii fratri ejus, et genti Anglorum, remisit in Angliam Walterum Rotomagensem archiepiscopum, et Willelmum Mareskallum comitem de Struguil, præcipiens per litteras suas, quod si vera essent quæ ipse audierat de cancellario, deponeretur, et Rotomagensis archiepiscopus loco illius substitueretur, sibi adjunctis sociis Willelmo Marescallo et Gaufrido filio Petri in regimine regni. Sin autem falsa essent quæ nunciata erant regi de cancellario, nihilominus archiepiscopus Rotomagensis et Willelmus Marescallus et Gaufridus filius Petri in regimine regni ei associentur. Qui venientes in Angliam litteras regis cancellario tradere ausi non fuerant, scientes quod novissimus error esset pejor priore.

Hoveden, 391. b. 32, shorter. Hoveden, 391. b. 36.

March 1. Richard goes to Catania to see Tancred.

Mense Martii, die prima mensis, feria sexta, Ricardus rex Angliæ per consilium regis Franciæ a civitate Messana recessit ad loquendum cum Tancredo rege Siciliæ. Et tertia die sequenti venit rex Angliæ ad civitatem Cathanensium, ubi requiescit sanctissimum corpus beatæ Agathæ virginis et martyris.

Hoveden, 391. b. 39.

March 3. Tancred meets him.

Et cum Tancredus rex Siciliæ audisset adventum illius, exivit obviam illi extra civitatem fere per quinque milliaria: et cum eum longe venientem conspiceret, antequam convenirent descendit uterque illorum; et currens alter ad alterum, irruerunt in mutuos amplexus et salutationes et oscula. Deinde equos ascen-

Hoveden, 391. b. 42.

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be done without the assent and counsel of the archbishop of Rouen; and instead of simply giving power to the four commissioners in case of the unfaithfulness of the chancellor, "secundum dispositionem vestram," he says, "secundum prædicti archi-"episcopi dispositionem;" so that either Diceto's version is garbled or Giraldus's interpolated; and it would appear that there were at least three parties, that of the chancellor, that of the co-justiciars, and that of the archbishop of Rouen; to which that of John makes a fourth, and that of Geoffrey a fifth. The second letter, addressed to the chancellor and the above commissioners, merely associates the archbishop of Rouen with the commission. This is dated Messina, Feb. 23. The archbishop landed at Shoreham, April 27.

Hoveden, 391. b. 45. dentes ingressi sunt civitatem; et occurrerunt illis clerus et populus cum hymnis et canticis benedicentes Deum. Factaque oratione ad sepulcrum beatæ Agathæ, rex Angliæ ingressus est palatium regis Tancredi; et habitavit ibi per tres dies simul cum illo cum honore qualis decebat regem. A.D. 1191. March 3. Richard stays with him three days.

Hoveden, 391. b. 49. Quarta die rex Siciliæ dona multa et magna, in vasis aureis et argenteis, in equis et pannis sericis obtulit regi Angliæ: at hujusmodi non indigens, nihil eorum capere voluit præter annulum parvulum quendam, quem in signum mutuæ dilectionis accepit. Rex autem Angliæ dedit ei gladium optimum Arcturi, nobilis quondam regis Britonum, quem Britones vocaverunt Caliburnum. Præterea Tancredus dedit regi Angliæ quatuor magnas naves quas vocant Ufsers,[1] et quindecim galeas. March 6. They exchange presents. fo. 102 v°.

Hoveden, 391. b. 54, differently. Et cum recessisset in propria persona perduxit eum usque ad Tavernum[2] per duas dietas magnas. Cumque inde recedere vellet, dixit rex Tancredus illi,[3] "Nunc "scio vere et certis indiciis comprobavi, quod ea quæ "rex Franciæ mandavit mihi de vobis per ducem "Burgundiæ, et per litteras suas, potius ex invidia "processerunt quam ex amore quem erga me haberet. "Ipse enim mandavit mihi quod nec pacem nec "fidem mihi servastis; et quod conventiones inter "nos factas transgressi estis; et quod in regnum istud "non venistis nisi ut auferretis a me; sed et si "vellem cum exercitu meo super vos venire, ipse "auxiliaretur mihi quantum posset, ad vos et exercitum vestrum confundendum." Tancred conducts Richard to Taormina, where he reveals to him the treachery of Philip.

Cui rex Angliæ respondit non minori constantia verbi quam animi, "Confundantur omnes inique agen- Richard refuses to believe it.

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[1] *Ufsers*] Ursers, Hoveden. (Huissiers.)

[2] *Tavernum*] Tavernim, H.

[3] Hoveden's account of this conversation is given in language almost entirely different from the text, but with very much the same purport.

A.D. 1191. March. Tancred offers to show him the letters of Philip.

"tes: et ego credere non possum quod hæc mandaverit, cum sit ipse dominus meus et socius conjuratus in peregrinatione ista." Ad quæ respondens rex Tancredus, "Ut comprobetis me," inquit, "verum dicere vobis, ecce trado vobis litteras quas ipse rex Franciæ misit mihi per ducem Burgundiæ. Quod si dux Burgundiæ negare voluerit, ego eum inde comprobabo per unum de ducibus meis, quod verissime litteras has sigillatas sigillo regis Franciæ mihi tradidit." Hoveden, 392. a. 8.

Philip comes to Taormina.

Et cum rex Angliæ litteras accepisset de manu regis Tancredi, venit rex Franciæ usque Tavernum loqui cum rege Tancredo. Hoveden, 392. a. 13.

Richard returns to Messina, and shows that he is offended with Philip.

Rex Angliæ per aliam viam reversus est in Messanam. Rex Franciæ fecit moram unius noctis apud regem Tancredum in Tavernum, et in crastino rediit ad Messanam. Rex autem Angliæ in ira commotus adversus eum nec faciem hilarem nec pacem spondentem ei prætendebat, sed opportunitatem quærebat ut cum suis ab eo recederet. Inquirente rege Franciæ diligentius quare hoc esset, mandavit illi rex Angliæ per comitem Flandriæ et per alios familiares suos ea quæ rex Siciliæ dixerat illi de eo: et in testimonium facti litteras quas acceperat de rege Tancredo ostendit. Hoveden, 392. a. 15.

He accuses him of treachery.

Philip denies the charge, and says that Richard merely wants to break his contract with his sister Alais.

Quod cum rex Franciæ audisset, male sibi conscius obmutuit, ignorans quid contra hæc responderet. Tandem ad se reversus ait, "Verba hæc ficta sunt, et de novo inventa. Scio enim et certus sum quod ipse quærit causas malignandi adversum me. Putatne quod per talia mendacia sororem meam abjiciet, quam desponsandam sibi juravit?" Cui rex Angliæ respondit, "Sororem tuam non abjicio: sed illam ducere nequeo in uxorem, quia pater meus cognovit eam, generans ex ea filium." Quod cum regi Franciæ constaret per plurimorum assertiones, ipse post multorum tergiversationes verborum, quietum clamavit regem Angliæ a conjugio sororis suæ Alesiæ, receptis Hoveden, 392. a. 20.

Hoveden, 392. a. 33, longer. decem millibus marcis argenti ad opus ejusdem mulieris, pro conventione a rege Angliæ; et cum rex Franciæ rediret in Franciam, prædicta soror ejus traderetur illi cum Gisortio et omnibus aliis rebus quæ rex Franciæ eis concesserat in maritagio. Et rex Franciæ dedit licentiam regi Angliæ quamcunque vellet ducendi in uxorem. Insuper concessit quod dux Britanniæ sit homo regis Angliæ in perpetuum, et hæredum suorum, de Britannia, et quod rex Angliæ et hæredes sui respondeant inde regi Franciæ et hæredibus suis. Et sic in illa die facti sunt amici rex Franciæ et rex Angliæ, et omnes conventiones illas fide et sacramentis sub sigillorum suorum testimonio confirmaverunt.

A.D. 1191. March. Pacification of Richard and Philip.

fo. 103 r°. Richard may marry whom he will and have the homage of Brittany.

Hoveden, 392. a. 44. Et eodem mense Martii, tertio kalendas Aprilis, Sabbato, Philippus rex Franciæ recessit a portu Messanæ cum toto navigio suo; et in vicesima secunda die sequenti, scilicet sabbati in hebdomada Paschæ, venit ipse cum exercitu suo ad obsidionem Acræ.

March 30. Philip sails; he reaches Acre, April 20.

Hoveden, 392. a. 48. Et eodem die quo rex Franciæ a Messana recessit, venit illuc Alienor, mater regis Angliæ, et adduxit secum Berengeram, filiam regis Navaræ, quam rex in uxorem ducturus erat. Et quarta die sequenti prædicta regina Alienor recessit inde versus Angliam,[1] et filia regis Navaræ remansit cum rege Angliæ.

March 30. Queen Eleanor arrives at Messina, and leaves, April 2.

Hoveden, 392. b. 2, shorter. Mense Aprilis, quarto idus ejusdem mensis, feria quarta, Clemens papa tertius obiit, et eodem die Jacinctus,[2] natione Romanus et Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinalis, electus est in papam per communem cardinalium electionem, et in vigilia Paschæ ordinatus in sacerdotem. Et in ipso die Paschæ statim, quæ xviii°. kalendas Maii evenit, pontifex Romanus est consecratus, et

April 10. Death of Clement III.

Celestine III. consecrated April 14.

[1] Hoveden here states that Eleanor returned by way of Rome, and carried a message from Richard to the pope to prevent the consecration of Geoffrey elect of York.

[2] Hyacinth Bobo, cardinal deacon of S. Mary in Cosmedin from 1144 to 1191; pope, as Celestine III., 1191–1198.

A.D. 1191. April 15. Coronation of Henry VI.

vocatus Cœlestinus papa Tertius. In crastino autem consecrationis suæ, ipse consecravit et coronavit prædictum Henricum regem in Romanum imperatorem, et Constantiam uxorem suam in imperatricem.[1] Hoveden, 392. b. 6.

April 10. Richard sails from Messina.

Eodem mense Aprilis fregit rex Angliæ castellum quod fecerat in loco qui dicitur Mategriffun, et feria quarta ante Cœnam Domini ipse cum toto exercitu suo a portu Messanensi recessit cum centum quinquaginta magnis navibus, et cum quinquaginta tribus galeis: et in die Parasceuæ venit ventus horribilis circa horam diei nonam ab Austro, et dissipavit navigium ejus. Rex autem cum parte navigii applicuit in insula Cretæ.[2] Hoveden, 393. a. 16.

April 12. Great storm at sea.

Richard reaches Crete.

He arrives at Rhodes, three of his ships being driven to Cyprus.

Deinde transiit in insulam de Rodes. Tres autem buciæ de navigio suo in tempestate supradicta, venerunt ad insulam de Cypres, et ante portum Limezun fractæ et comminutæ perierunt. In quibus milites et servientes de familia regis submersi sunt, inter quos magister Rogerus Malus Catulus, vicecancellarius regis, periit, et sigillum regis in collo illius suspensum reperiebatur. Catalla autem submersorum thesaurizavit sibi Ysaac imperator de Cypra. Et omnes qui nau- Hoveden, 393. a. 22.

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[1] Hoveden here gives his famous story of Celestine kicking the imperial crown from the head of the emperor; with a long account of the dispute between the pope and the Romans about Tusculum. If his account of Eleanor's visit to Rome be true, she must have been there at this very time, and it must have been from one of her retinue that Hoveden picked up the story, which is generally considered apocryphal. The author of the Itinerarium does not mention the visit, but states that Eleanor went by barge to Salerno, and thence to Normandy.

[2] Richard landed in Crete April 17, and re-embarked the next day. On the 22nd he landed in Rhodes, where he stayed ten days, and re-embarked on the 1st of May. Roger Malus Catulus was lost in a storm on the 24th of April. The vessel in which the queens were arrived at Limasol on the 1st of May. Richard landed in Cyprus on the 6th. Itiner. R. R. 177–188. It will be seen that the text, although much compressed, contains an account more nearly resembling that of the Itinerarium than does Hoveden's diffuser statement.

Hoveden, 393. n. 32. fragium evaserunt cepit et incarceravit, et pecunias eorum eis abstulit. Qui etiam plus ferali crudelitate debacchatus, busciam unam vento et fluctibus agitatam, in qua prædicta regina Siciliæ et filia regis Navaræ erant, portum intrare non permisit. A.D. 1191. April. Cruelty of Isaac of Cyprus.

Quomodo Ricardus rex Angliæ Cyprum ceperit et devicerit.

Hoveden, 393. n. 34, longer. Quod cum regi Angliæ nunciatum esset, festinanter ad illarum præsidium venit, cum galeis multis et grandi storio navium, et invenit illas extra portum de Limeszun, ventis et mari expositas. Et iratus valde misit nuncios ad imperatorem Cypræ semel, secundo et tertio, petens cum humili deprecatione, postulans peregrinos suos quos imperator vinctos tenebat in carcere, sibi reddi, similiter et catalla eorum. Quibus imperator respondens superbe locutus est, dicens quod nec peregrinos nec catalla eorum dimitteret, et quod non timeret regem Angliæ nec minas ejus. May. Richard demands the shipwrecked pilgrims fo. 163 v°. from the emperor of Cyprus. He refuses.

Hoveden, 393. n. 45, longer. Tunc ait rex universo exercitui suo, "Armate vos "et sequimini me; et vindicemus injurias quas per"fidus iste et Deo et nobis fecit, opprimens innocentes "quos nobis reddere recusat, 'sed et arma tenenti "'omnia dat qui justa negat,' certamque in Domino "habeo fiduciam quod Ipse nobis hodie dabit victo"riam de isto imperatore et gente ejus." Richard exhorts his followers. Lucan, Phars. i. 349.

Hoveden, 393. n. 52, longer. Interim imperator ille occupaverat littora maris undique cum gente sua, et multi eorum erant armati, sed plures inermes. Cum autem rex Angliæ et sui armati essent, exierunt de magnis navibus, et intrantes in galeas et naviculas suas, cum impetu venerunt ad terram. Rex autem præibat cum sagittariis suis, et cæteri omnes sequebantur; et cum applicuissent impetum fecerunt unanimiter in imperatorem et Griffones Battle at Limasol before the Crusaders effect a landing.

A.D. 1191. May 6. The Crusaders are victorious and seize Limasol.

suos; et quasi imber super gramina ceciderunt sagittæ super pugnantes. Et cum diu pugnassent, imperator post multorum suorum interfectionem in fugam conversus est, et omnis exercitus ejus cum eo. Quos magnificus triumphator rex Angliæ [secutus], stragem maximam ex obstantibus fecit, et nisi nox celerius supervenisset, rex illo die imperatorem cepisset vel vivum vel mortuum. Sed quia rex et sui ignorabant vias et semitas montium per quas imperator et sui fugerunt, noluerunt illos amplius sequi; sed cum præda magna hominum et animalium redeuntes venerunt ad villam de Limezun, quam Grifones et Herminii vacuam reliquerunt fugientes. Hoveden, 393. b. 4.

Queen Johanna and Berengaria of Navarre land.

Eodem die[1] filia regis Navarræ, et regina Siciliæ soror regis Angliæ, intraverunt portum de Limezun cum navigio regis. Imperator vero religatis sibi hominibus suis qui dispersi erant per dumos in convallibus, eadem nocte castra sua metatus est super fluvium, quasi per quinque milliaria a villa de Limezun; sub juramento affirmans quod in crastino dimicaret cum rege Angliæ. Quod cum rex audiret per exploratores suos, longe ante diem,[2] se et exercitum suum armari fecit, et sine tumultu procedens, accessit ad exercitum imperatoris, et invenit eos dormientes. Et cum magna et horribili exclamatione intravit tentoria eorum, et excitati a somno facti sunt velut mortui, nescientes quid facerent aut quo fugerent. Ipse autem imperator cum paucis nudus evasit, relinquens post se thesauros, et equos, et arma, et tentoria sua pulcherrima, et vexillum imperiale per totum auro contextum, quod rex Angliæ statim destinavit beato Edmundo regi glorioso et martyri. Hoveden, 393. b. 10.

Richard surprises the emperor and routs his forces.

fo. 164 r°.

May 9. The Cypriots submit.

In crastino multi comites et barones regni venerunt ad regem Angliæ, et homines sui devenerunt, et jura- Hoveden, 393. b. 24.

[1] May 6. Itin. R. R. 191.
[2] May 7, "die crastino." Itin. R. R. 192.

Hoveden, 393. b. 27. verunt ei fidelitatem contra imperatorem et omnes homines; et dederunt ei inde obsides. Tertia[1] autem die sequenti Guido rex Jerosolimitanus, et Gaufridus de Lezinant frater ejus, et Anfridus de Turun,[2] et Raimundus[3] princeps Antiochiæ, et Boimundus[4] filius ejus comes Tripolis, et Leo[5] frater Rupini de la Montaine, venerunt in insulam de Cypre ad regem Angliæ, et ibi homines sui devenerunt, et fidelitates ei juraverunt contra omnes homines.

A.D. 1191. May 11. Arrival of the Frank princes from Palestine.

Hoveden, 393. b. 28. Eodem die, cum imperator de Cypris vidisset se omni virtute et auxilio suorum destitui, supplices legationes misit ad regem Angliæ, et obtulit ei pacem in hac forma, scilicet quod ipse daret ei viginti millia marcarum auri in recompensatione pecuniæ submersorum; et illos qui naufragium evaserunt liberos cum catallis suis redderet; et ipse in propria persona sua cum illo in terram Suriæ iret, et quamdiu rex ibi fuerit moram ibidem faceret in servitio Dei cum centum militibus et quadringentis Turcoplis equitibus, et cum quingentis servientibus peditibus: et insuper daret ei filiam suam quam unicam habebat hæredem ad maritandam cui voluerit cum imperio suo; et quod fidelitatem ei juraret, et regnum suum de illo teneret; et super pacto illo firmiter observando traderet ei castella regni sui in pignore.

Isaac Comnenus asks for terms of peace.

Hoveden, 393. b. 37. His itaque ex utraque parte concessis, venit imperator ad regem Angliæ et coram rege Jerosolimitano, et principe Antiochiæ et aliis magnatibus qui aderant,

Submission of Isaac.

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[1] "Sabbato sequenti." Itinerar. R. R. 195, that is, May 11.

[2] *Anfridus*] Henfrid III. of Toron, the first husband of queen Isabella.

[3] *Raimundus*] Properly Bohemond III., prince of Antioch.

[4] *Boimundus*] Properly Raymond III., count of Tripoli, son of Bohemond III. of Antioch.

[5] Leo was probably a cousin of Rupin, prince of Armenia, whom he succeeded. He became king in 1197. The whole party represented the nobility opposed to Conrad of Montferrat, who had cheated Guy of his kingdom and Henfrid of his wife. Henfrid was brother-in-law of Rupin of Armenia, who again was father-in-law of Raymond of Tripoli.

A.D. 1191. May. He does homage to Richard. et coram principibus totius imperii, juravit fidelitatem regi Angliæ et hæredibus suis, sicut ligiis dominis suis, contra omnes homines, et quod omnem supradictam conventionem, firmiter et inconcusse, bona fide et sine malo ingenio, illi bonam servaret. Hoveden. 393. b. 39.

He changes his mind and takes to flight, defying Richard. Eodem die post prandium, cum esset imperator in tentorio suo, et milites regis quibus ille traditus fuerat ad custodiendum, meridianum somnum dormissent, furtim ab eis recessit, pœnitens se pacem supradictam fecisse cum rege Angliæ. Mandavitque regi quod nullam pacem nec conventionem illi servaret; quod, ut videbatur, plurimum placuit regi. Ipse enim, ut vir circumspectus et prudens, statim tradidit magnam exercitus sui partem Guidoni regi de Jerusalem, et cæteris principibus, dicens eis, "Sequimini, et comprehendite illum si potestis; ego autem circuibo insulam de Cypre cum galeis meis, et ponam custodes meos per circuitum insulæ, ne perjurus ille manus meas evadat." Hoveden. 393. b. 42. Richard prepares to pursue him.

Richard and Robert Tornham sail round Cyprus. Dixit et fecit ita, et divisit galeas in duas partes, quarum tradidit unam partem Roberto de Turnham, alia sibi parte retenta. Intrantesque galeas ipse ex una parte et Robertus ex altera circuierunt totam insulam Cypræ; et omnes naves et galeas quas per circuitum invenerunt, ceperunt. Et cum Grifones et Herminii, quibus civitates et castella imperatoris et munitiones tradita fuerant ad custodiendum, vidissent tot armatos viros et galeas venientes, reliquerunt ea sine custode, et fugerunt in montana. Rex autem et Robertus omnia ceperunt castella et civitates et portus quotquot vacua invenerunt, et munientes ea viris et armis et victu et galeis, redierunt ad Limeszun. Rex autem Jerosolimitanus et qui cum illo erant, parum adhuc proficere poterant in expeditione sua. Hoveden. 393. b. 48. fo. 164 v°.

May 12. Marriage of Richard and Berengaria, who is Mense autem Maii, quarto idus ejusdem mensis, Dominica die, festo sanctorum Nerei, Achillei atque Pancratii, Ricardus rex Angliæ desponsavit sibi Beren- Hoveden, 394. a. 9.

Hoveden, 394. a. 10. geram filiam regis Navarræ, Nicholao[1] capellano suo officium sacramenti hujus perficiente. Et eodem die fecit illam coronari in reginam Angliæ in villa de Limeszun a Johanne Ebroicensi episcopo, coram archiepiscopis de Appamia et de Auxia, et coram episcopo de Baonia et aliis multis. A.D. 1191. May 12. crowned by the bishop of Evreux.

Hoveden, 394. a. 16, longer. Deinde rex Angliæ cum audisset quod filia imperatoris esset in castello fortissimo quod dicitur Cherin, venit illuc cum exercitu suo, et cum appropinquasset castello illi, filia imperatoris venit ei obviam, et procidens adoravit eum, tradens se et castellum in misericordia ejus. Deinde redditum est illi castellum fortissimum quod dicitur Buffevent. Postea traditæ sunt illi omnes civitates et munitiones imperii. Richard takes Cherines and Buffevent.

Hoveden, 394. a. 22. Infelix ille imperator latitabat in quadam abbatia fortissima quæ dicitur Caput Sancti Andreæ. Qui cum audisset adventum regis exivit ei obviam, provolutusque ad pedes regis posuit se in misericordia regis de vita et membris, nulla mentione facta de regno. Sciebat enim quod jam omnia essent in manu regis et potestate. Sed hoc solum petiit a rege ne permitteret eum mitti compedibus et manicis ferreis. Audivit rex petitionem ejus, et tradidit illum Radulfo filio Godefridi, camerario suo, custodiendum; præcipiens compedes et manicas fieri de auro et argento ad opus illius, in quibus præcepit illum mitti. Peracta sunt autem hæc in insula de Cypra, mense Junii, die mensis prima,[2] in vigilia Pentecosten. The emperor, who had fled to Capo S. Andrea, surrenders at discretion. He is imprisoned in silver and golden chains, June 1.

Hoveden, 394. a. 31. Et præordinatis omnibus ad securitatem regis imperii, et custodibus per civitates et castella constitutis, rex tradidit imperium de Cypra Ricardo de Camvilla et Roberto de Tornham ad custodiendum. June 1. Richard de Camville and Robert Tornham put in charge of Cyprus.

Hoveden, 394. a. 36. Eodem die Berengera regina Angliæ, et regina Siciliæ

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[1] Nicolas, afterwards bishop of Le Mans, 1214–1216.

[2] The Itinerarium places the surrender a day earlier, Friday, May 31, p. 203.

A.D. 1191. June 1. The queens arrive at Acre. soror regis, et filia imperatoris de Cypra, venerunt ad obsidionem de Acra, cum majore parte navigii regis. Hoveden. 394. a. 36.

Death of the count of Flanders. Et eodem die obiit Philippus comes Flandriæ in obsidione Acræ. Hoveden. 394. a. 38.

June 5. Richard sails from Cyprus. Rex vero Angliæ quarta feria hebdomadæ Pentecosten discessit ab insula Cypræ cum galeis suis, ducens secum regem Jerusalem et principem Antiochiæ et comitem Tripolis, et cæteros principes qui ad eum venerant in insula Cypræ: et misit Radulfum filium Godefridi cum imperatore Cypræ ad Tripolim. Hoveden. 394. a. 41, shorter. fo. 165 r°.

He restores the laws of Manuel Comnenus. Sane antequam rex discesserat ab Cypra comites et barones et omnes homines insulæ dederunt medietatem omnium quæ possidebant regi pro legibus et institutis quæ habebant tempore Manuelis imperatoris Constantinopolitani; et concessit eis rex, et carta sua confirmavit. Hoveden. 394. a. 38.

June 6. He is refused admission into Tyre. Et in crastino recessus sui ab insula de Cypre, venit rex ad civitatem Tyri, at custodes civitatis noluerunt eum intus recipere, dicentes quod sic prohibitum erat eis a rege Franciæ, et a Conrado domino civitatis ejusdem; et rex Angliæ jacuit illa nocte extra civitatem in tentoriis suis. Hoveden. 394. a. 42.

June 7. On the way to Acre he encounters a great ship of the Saracens. Inde in crastino, scilicet feria sexta in hebdomada Pentecosten, cum rex iter ageret versus Acram, vidit a longe in mari buciam quandam magnam onustam paganis multis, et ornatam vexillis regis Franciæ. Mittensque ad eos rex quæsivit qui essent, et unde venissent, et quo irent. Qui responderunt se esse Christianos de familia regis Franciæ, et venisse de Antiochia cum victu et armis regis Franciæ; ad Acram ire velle. Sed nuncii regis Angliæ neminem illorum cognoverunt. Hoveden. 394. a. 45.

The Saracens pretend to belong to king Philip. Richard disbelieves. Et cum redissent ad regem et visa narraverunt, rex respondit, "Certe mentiti sunt in caput suum; "talem buciam non habet rex Franciæ; et si de "familia regis Franciæ sunt, dicite eis ut exspectent "et loquantur mecum." Et antequam nuncii regis Hoveden. 394. a. 51.

Hoveden, 394. a. 53. iterum venissent ad eos, pagani omnes qui in bucia erant, armaverunt se, et pessime receperunt nuncios, mittentes in eos sagittas et ignem Græcum. A.D. 1191. June 7. The Saracens attack.

Hoveden, 394. a. 54. Quod videns rex, dixit omnibus qui secum erant, "Ite et persequimini eos et comprehendite; sed si "abierint, amorem meum in perpetuum perdetis; et "si eos comprehenderitis, dabo vobis quicquid petieritis, "et insuper catalla eorum vestra sunt." His dictis ipse et omnes unanimiter impetum fecerunt in buciam, et cum rostris galearum undique eam perforaverunt; aqua vero intrans per foramina, traxit illam in profundum. Et cum cœpissent mergi, pagani projecerunt arma sua in mare; et fractis vasis fuderunt ignem Græcum quem portabant; relictaque nave nudi prosiliebant in mare. Galiotæ autem interfecerunt eos, quibusdam tamen illorum reservatis vivis. Æstimabantur autem pagani qui erant in bucia illa numero mille quingenti, quos Saladinus elegerat de omnibus paganis suis, ut mitteret eos in civitatem Acræ. Quibus devictis et interfectis, rex distribuit omnia catalla eorum suis galiotis. Richard orders his galleys to charge the Saracen ship. They sink it and take many prisoners.

Hoveden, 394. b. 9. In crastino, scilicet die Sabbati in Pentecosten, venit ad obsidionem Acræ; et paganos quos retinuit de navi distribuit regi Franciæ, et comitibus exercitus. Cum autem pagani qui in civitate erant audissent, quod pagani qui in bucia erant, in quibus habebant fiduciam, submersi essent, et quod rex Angliæ magnificus triumphator ad obsidionem venisset, timuerunt valde, et de die in diem opportunitatem quærebant, ut traderent ei civitatem pro licentia abeundi cum vita et membris. June 8. Richard arrives at Acre. The besieged lose heart.

Hoveden, 394. b. 15. Rex vero Franciæ, qui sabbato in hebdomada Paschæ ad obsidionem venerat, jam ante adventum regis Angliæ perrarias, et hurdicios et alias machinas suas bellicas paraverat, et in locis congruis collocaverat, sed nihil in eis operatus est; expectabat enim adventum regis Angliæ. Qui cum venisset, statim erexit Philip has been engaged since April 20 in preparing engines. fo. 165 v°.

A.D. 1191. June. machinas bellicas, perarias suas et hurdicios parari fecit. Hoveden, 394. b. 19.

Richard accepts the services of the Pisans, and rejects the Genoese.

Pisani vero et Januenses venerunt ad eum et obtulerunt ei servitia sua. Recepit autem Pisanos, Januensibus refutatis, quia ipsi fidelitatem fecerant regi Franciæ et Cunrado Marchioni. Pisani fecerunt regi Angliæ homagium, et fidelitatem juraverunt; et rex concessit eis omnes libertates et consuetudines quas habere solebant in terra Jerosolimitana, et carta sua confirmavit. Hoveden, 394. b. 19.

June 10. The French engines burnt.

Tertia autem die post adventum regis Angliæ, rex Franciæ dimisit omnes servientes suos; et rex Angliæ omnes retinuit ad custodiendum machinas suas die ac nocte. Unde factum est ut pagani qui erant in civitate, invenientes machinas regis Franciæ sine custode, combusserunt eas. Hoveden, 394. b. 24.

The two kings fall ill, but the siege proceeds.

Et paulo post adventum regis Angliæ, statim uterque regum Angliæ et Franciæ, in infirmitatem quæ dicitur Arnaldia inciderunt, in qua fere usque ad mortem laborantes capillos suos deposuerunt. Nec tamen machinæ bellicæ cessabant lapides mittere die et nocte, super turres et muros civitatis. Hoveden, 394. b. 28.

Recovery of the kings.

Per misericordiam Dei, uterque regum convaluit de ægritudine illa, facti robustiores et animosiores in Dei servitio. Hoveden, 394. b. 29.

Quarrel of Guy of Lusignan and Conrad of Montferrat.

Et quia Guido rex Jerusalem conquestus erat eis, quod Conradus marchio vi et injuste abstulit ei redditus et jura regni; tradiderunt redditus fori, et rerum venalium, et redditus portus Acræ, in manus Templariorum et Hospitalariorum, colligendos et custodiendos, donec provisum esset quis illorum de jure illos habere deberet. Et Gaufridus de Lezinan, frater regis de Jerusalem, appellavit in curia regum Conradum marchionem, de fide læsa, et perjurio et proditione facta contra regem fratrem suum, et adversum totum exercitum Christianorum; et de prosequenda appellatione pignus dedit. Conradus vero male sibi conscius, Hoveden, 394. b. 31.

Geoffrey of Lusignan appeals Conrad. Conrad flies to Tyre.

Hoveden, 394. b. 38. nolens juri stare, declinavit a turba, exivit foras, omnibus clamantibus post illum et dicentibus, "Proditor est ille, "qui juri stare recusat." Nemo tamen misit in illum manus ne forte tumultus fieret in populo. Ipse autem Tyrum abiit. Rex Angliæ partem regis Jerusalem fovebat, et rex Franciæ partem Conradi fovebat; immo inter eos sæpius oriebantur rixæ et contentiones.

A.D. 1191. June. Jealousy of Richard and Philip.

S. Mark xiv. 2.

Hoveden, 394. b. 43. Post multum vero temporis, rex Franciæ misit pro Conrado, qui ad eum veniens, constituit eum sibi familiarem et consiliarium, per cujus consilium multa operatus est, unde dedecus et damnum et detrimentum animæ suæ in multis perpessus est.

Philip takes Conrad for his adviser.

Hoveden, 394. b. 47, shorter. In primis enim per consilium ejus rex Franciæ petiit a rege Angliæ medietatem totius insulæ Cypræ, cum medietate omnium quæ in illa cepit, ex conventione facta inter eos apud Messanam. Convenit enim inter eos, quod dimidiarent inter se omnia quæ perquirerent in terra Jerosolimitana, quamdiu essent in illa peregrinatione. Cui respondit, "Si dederis mihi "medietatem Flandriæ, et cæterorum quæ adquisisti "post mortem comitis Flandriæ, et per mortem cas"tellani de Sancto Odmero, qui in obsidione Acræ "mortui sunt; et ego dabo tibi medietatem totius "acquisitionis meæ; licet conventio facta fuerit inter "nos de adquisitionibus nostris in terra Jerosolimi"tana tantummodo:" et sic alterutro remiserunt petitiones suas, et conventiones [quas] apud Messanam fecerunt de adquisitionibus eorum in terra Jerusalem dimittendis, iterum scriptis et testimoniis confirmaverunt: statueruntque Templarios et Hospitalarios, et alios viros sapientes in quibus confidebant, ad recipiendum et dimidiandum inter eos acquisitiones suas.

Philip demands half of Cyprus, and Richard demands half of Flanders.

fo. 166 r°.

The division of the spoil entrusted to the military orders.

Hoveden, 395. a. 1. Interim, Saladinus princeps exercitus paganorum misit frequenter nuncios ad reges Franciæ et Angliæ, cum pyris Damascenis et aliis diversorum fructuum generibus, et ipsi remiserunt ei de jocosis suis; nihilominus reges insultum faciebant in civitatem per diver-

Saladin sends presents to the kings.

A.D. 1191. June. sas machinas, et per fossores, die et nocte muros subfodientes.

June 23. Eclipse of the sun. In eodem mense Junii, die Dominica, vigilia Sancti Johannis Baptistæ Nativitatis, nono kalendas Julii, hora diei quasi nona, sol eclipsim passus est; et duravit per tres horas; et obscuratus est Sol, et tenebræ factæ sunt super terram, et stellæ apparuerunt in cœlo. Et cum eclipsis recessisset, rediit sol in decorem splendoris sui. Hoveden, 395. a. 13.

The Crusaders have an unknown friend in Acre. In civitate Acræ erat quidam homo Deo devotus, occultus tamen propter metum paganorum, qui frequenter litteras suas foras misit in trahendo per sagittas, usque ad exercitum Christianorum, mandans eis statum civitatis et paganorum propositum: unde Christiani sæpius præmuniti paganorum vitabant sæpius insidias. Ipse enim semper in mandatis suis imponebat "In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti." Nullus quidem Christianorum novit eum vel ante vel post civitatis captionem. Hoveden, 395. a. 17.

The Crusaders fill up part of the trench and the besieged offer to submit. Eodem mense Junii, Christiani magnam partem fossati impleverunt; quod cum pagani qui erant in civitate vidissent, obtulerunt regibus Christianorum civitatem Acræ, cum armis et victualibus eorum, si dimiserint eos cum vita et membris abire: sed noluerunt reges recipere petitiones eorum. Hoveden, 395. a. 26.

Robertus de Tornham.

Death of Richard de Camville. Eodem mense Junii Ricardus de Camvilla, quem rex unum de justitiariis constituerat in Cypra, infirmabatur, et sine licentia regis venit ad obsidionem Acræ, et ibi mortuus est. Hoveden, 395. a. 33. A revolt of the Cypriots put down by Robert Tornham. Quo defuncto Grifones et Herminii qui ad pacem regis nondum venerant, constituerunt sibi novum imperatorem quendam monachum, consanguineum Ysaac imperatoris. Et Robertus de Tornham, qui solus remansit justitiarius regis in Cypra, congregato magno exercitu, prælium commisit

Hoveden, 395. a. 39. cum illo novo imperatore, et illum et gentem suam vicit, et cepit et suspendit in patibulo. A.D. 1191. June. fo. 166 v°.

Hoveden, 395. a. 40. Eodem mense obiit Radulfus filius Godefridi, custos imperatoris de Cypra,[1] quo defuncto rex imperatorem commisit Warnero de Naplis[2] summo magistro Hospitalis ad custodiendum. Death of Ralph Fitz Godfrey.

Hoveden, 395. a. 43. Eodem mense fossores regis Angliæ fundamentum murorum civitatis suffoderunt, et lignis subpositis, ignem apposuerunt, et cecidit pars maxima murorum civitatis. Perariæ regis Franciæ et Templariorum et Pisanorum fecerunt foramina magna in muro juxta Turrem Maledictam; et convenerunt illuc homines regis Franciæ, insultum facientes in paganos; sed quia via ardua erat et stricta, multi de hominibus regis Franciæ ibi interfecti sunt. Rex Angliæ et homines sui interim custodiebant exteriora fossata, quæ erant inter exercitum Saladini et exercitum Christianorum. Attack on the Cursed Tower.

Hoveden, 395. a. 51; longer. Conventio enim facta fuit inter reges, ut quando insultum faceret unus in civitatem, alter custodiret fossata propter incursus paganorum.

Hoveden, 395. b. 2. Mense Julii, tertia die mensis, feria quarta, cecidit pars magna murorum civitatis Acræ, juxta Turrem Maledictam, et multi de familia regis Franciæ cum Alberico[3] marscallo illius, et cum copiosa armatorum multitudine, cucurrerunt ad murum, et appositis scalis ascenderunt. Et cum intrassent venerunt obviam illis pagani in manu forti, viriliterque resistentes eis eos retroire coegerunt; ibique Albericus Clement interfectus est cum multis aliis. Conradus autem marchio ibi viliter et ignominiose se retraxit; cum enim alios a morte posset liberare, nullum præstitit auxilium. Pagani vero, qui July 3. Fall of the wall near the Cursed Tower. Glorious death of Alberic Clement, and cowardice of Conrad.

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[1] "et sepultus est apud Tripolim." Hoveden.

[2] Garnier of Naplous. Hoveden omits the name of the Grand Master, but adds that the Hospitallers kept the emperor at Margat.

[3] Alberic Clement of Metz (Itin. R. R. 223), marshal of the king of France, son of Robert Clement, who had been left by Lewis VII. as chief counsellor to Philip. See above, vol. i. p. 246.

A.D. 1191. July 3. Treachery of Conrad.

ad murorum defensionem stabant, nec in eum, nec in suos vel lapidem miserunt; sed vexillum ejus, quod ipse illis in signum fœderis dederat, in sublime, cunctis videntibus et multum admirantibus, tenuerunt. Hoveden, 395. b. 10,

July 4. Proposals of surrender.

In crastino Mestoch et Karracois, principes paganorum qui erant in civitate Acræ, venerunt ad reges Franciæ et Angliæ, et iterum obtulerunt eis civitatem Acræ, et arma sua, et totum aurum et argentum quod in civitate habebant ipsi et alii pagani, pro licentia abeundi cum vita et membris: et noluerunt reges recipere; sed exigebant ab eis totam terram quam Saladinus et cæteri pagani abstulerunt Christianis, ab eo tempore quo Lodowicus rex, pater Philippi regis Franciæ, fuit in terra Jerosolimitana; et Crucem Sanctam et Christianos captivos quos Saladinus et homines sui tunc habebant. Pagani vero, scientes se nihil horum posse facere sine voluntate Saladini, datis obsidibus de redeundo, perrexerunt ad Saladinum. Cui ostendentes regum petitiones, nihil efficere potuerunt de his, nec ullam pro illis redemptionem dare concessit. Confusi itaque reversi sunt ad civitatem Acræ, et ingressi sunt. Hoveden, 395. b. 12. Hoveden, 395. b. 19, longer.

Saladin refuses to accept the terms.

Saladin attacks the camp, but is obliged to retire.

Nocte sequenti, circa horam noctis mediam, exercitus Saladini insultum fecit in custodes fossatorum exteriorum, ut [dum] Christiani intenderent defensioni fossatorum, pagani qui in civitate erant facilius evadere possent per fugam. Sed reges inde præmuniti, per mandatum supradicti viri qui erat in civitate, custodes per circuitum murorum posuerunt, ita quod nulli securus patebat egressus. Factus est ergo clamor per exercitum Christianorum, qui a somno excitati et arma velocius sumentes, accesserunt ad fossata et impetum fecerunt in paganos, et multos ex illis interfecerunt: pagani autem in fugam conversi sunt. Hoveden, 395. b. 25.

fo. 167 r°.

July 5. A great breach made.

Quinta die mensis Julii, feria sexta, iterum appositus est ignis incisioni murorum, quam homines regis Angliæ fecerant; et nocte sequenti ceciderunt turres et muri, et fecerunt introitum magnum. Hoveden, 395. b. 33.

Hoveden, 395. b. 35.

Et in crastino, scilicet sexta die mensis Julii, rex Angliæ et exercitus ejus armati accesserunt ut insultum facerent in civitatem. Pagani vero, qui intus erant, fecerunt signum quod vellent loqui cum regibus de pace inter se facienda. Data illis licentia, rex et sui deposuere arma. Tunc Mestoch,[1] et Carracois,[2] et Helsedin Jordic venerunt iterum ad loquendum cum regibus. Et cum diu tractassent de pace facienda, acceperunt licentiam loqui cum Saladino, et datis obsidibus quod redirent, abierunt.

A.D. 1191. July 6. The Saracens propose a parley.

They send to Saladin for directions.

Et cum ad Saladinum venissent, ipsi et filii et nepotes et amici eorum qui erant in exercitu Saladini, deprecabantur eum ut illos a morte liberaret. Dicebant enim nullo modo se posse ulterius civitatem defendere, quia muri et turres jam ceciderant, et quia plusquam tertia pars hominum civitatis interfecta, et ad necem vulnerata erat. Quibus Saladinus respondit, "Si reges "Franciæ et Angliæ voluerint mecum ire ad debel-"landum dominum Muscæ[3] fratrem Noradini, et San-"guinum filium ejusdem Noradini, filii Sanguini de "Halapa, qui totam terram meam, quæ est ultra

Saladin offers to make an alliance with the Crusaders.

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[1] *Mestoch*] Seifeddin-al-Meschtoub. Bohadin, 174.

[2] *Carracois*] Bohaeddin-Karakoush. Bohadin, 174.

[3] The lord of Mosul at this time was Ezzeddin Masoud, the fourth Atabek of Irak, 1181–1193, son of Kothbeddin Modoud, the brother of the Great Noureddin Zenghi; and he is doubtless the person described in the text as the lord of Musce, and as the brother of Noureddin Zenghi. But Ezzeddin was not now at war with Saladin. On the contrary, his son Aladdin was present with the Mosul contingent in Saladin's army (Bohadin 170), as were his brother Amadoddin Zenghi, lord of Sinsjar (Boh. 148), and his nephew Moezzodin, lord of Mesopotamia. Wilken, *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge*, iv. 358, identifies the lord of Musce with Kothbeddin Sokman, the son of Noureddin, the son of Kara Arslan, lord of Diarbekr, and states that he was at war with Takieddin Omar, the lord of Hamah, Saladin's nephew. It would almost seem as if our author had confounded the two; for it is clear that he connected the rebellion with Saladin's treatment of the house of Noureddin Zenghi, to which Noureddin the son of Kara Arslan did not belong. See D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, s. v. Atabek, Kara Arslan; and the *Modern Universal History*, ii. 9, 10, 11, &c.

A.D. 1191. July 6. Terms proposed by Saladin.

"Eufratem ceperunt, devicto et expulso Thekedino "avunculo meo; et si voluerint in meo servitio per "unum annum demorari; et clamare mihi quieta in "perpetuum Escalon, et Le Cragh, et Mun Rael, quod "est ultra fluvium Jordanis; ego reddam eis civitatem Jerusalem, et Crucem Sanctam, et omnes terras "et civitates et castella et munitiones quas ego et "mei cepimus post captionem Guidonis regis, et etiam "ante captionem per quinquennium. Et si reges illi "nec volunt nec possunt mecum ire; tradant mihi de "exercitu suo duo millia militum et quinque millia "servientium equitum bene armatorum ad serviendum "mihi per unum annum; ego omnia supradicta eis "reddam, et militibus et servientibus stipendia bona "dabo, et tam magna qualia nunquam eis data fuerant; scilicet unicuique militi quadraginta sex "Bisantios per mensem, et unicuique servienti sedecim Bisantios per mensem. Et si quis illorum interfectus fuerit in servitio meo, reddam militem pro "milite, servientem pro serviente. Et si quis illorum "captus fuerit in servitio meo, ego illum redimam."[1] His dictis, Mestoch et Karracois, et Hessedin et[2] Jordich tristes et confusi ingressi sunt Acram. Filii vero illorum et nepotes recesserunt a Saladino, mandantes ei quod nisi celeriter liberasset prædictos custodes civitatis ipsi inimici ejus fierent.

July 7. Assault by the French on the Cursed Tower unsuccessful. fo. 107 v°.

Septima die mensis Julii, Dominica die, rex Franciæ et exercitus ejus insultum fecerunt in civitatem Acræ juxta Turrim Maledictam, in loco quo prius fecerant; sed nihil profecerunt, quadraginta de suis hominibus ibi interfectis. Hoveden, 395, b. 49, shorter.

Erat enim via arcta et ardua, et strictus introitus, et multi paganorum ad defensionem illam convene-

[1] Hoveden only gives a short abstract of this speech.

[2] *et*] Hessedin and Jordich were the same person. Bohadin, 148.

rant qui cæteros introire coegerunt. Rex Angliæ et sui interim erant ad fossatorum defensionem. A.D. 1191.

Hoveden, 395. b. 52. Octava die mensis Julii, Saladinus combussit turrem et villam de Chaifas, et omnes vineas in circuitu ejus destruxit. July 8. Saladin dismantles Haifa.

Visio de Sancta Maria.

Hoveden, 395. b. 53. In nocte sequenti, dum milites et servientes de exercitu Christianorum custodirent vigilias noctis ante Turrem Maledictam propter paganos; circa horam noctis mediam apparuit illis quædam mulier speciosissima, cujus pulchritudo solis radium vincebat in splendore sui. Præ timore autem exterriti sunt custodes, et facti sunt velut mortui. Illa autem confortabat eos, dicens "Nolite timere! Ego sum Maria, Mater "Domini nostri Jesu Christi: et Ipse misit me ad vos, "ut dicatis regibus quod cessent a prosternatione "murorum; et quarto die post istum dabit Dominus "eis civitatem hanc." Eadem nocte dum beata mater Domini tam blande consolaretur Christianos, terræ motus magnus et horribilis venit in civitate, ita quod timor magnus apprehendit paganos qui intus erant; adeo quod maluerunt mori quam vivere.[1] His dictis beata Virgo ascendit in cœlum, et nubes lucida suscepit eam ab oculis eorum. Facto mane custodes ipsi regibus et principibus exercitus visionem, et ea quæ audierant ex ore Beatæ Virginis Matris Domini Mariæ, retulerunt. Hisque per exercitum cognitis, facta lætitia magna in populo Christiano.

Vision of the blessed Virgin, promising that the city shall be taken on the fourth day.

S. Matt. xxviii. 4.

Hoveden, 396. a. 12. Nono et decimo[2] die mensis Julii, Saladinus fecit exstirpari omnes vineas et arbores fructiferas quæ erant in circuitu Acræ, et cæterarum civitatum et cas- July 9 & 10. Saladin cuts down the fruit trees about Acre.

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[1] "Sic Dominus cum ad judicium "venerit blandus justis et terribilis "apparebit injustis." Ins. Hoveden.

[2] *Nono et decimo*] Nonodecimo, B.

A.D. 1191. July 10. Saladin dismantles some of his castles.

Hoveden, 396. a. 13.

tellorum quæ debilia erant; et civitates ipsas et castella in quibus resistendi Christianis fiduciam non habuit, penitus destruxit.

July 11. The Pisans and English make an assault.

Hoveden, 396. a. 14, shorter.

Undecima die mensis Julii, Pisani et exercitus regis Angliæ insultum fecerunt in civitatem Acræ, in illa parte ubi perariæ regis Angliæ foramen magnum fecerant. Cum autem ascendissent murum, pagani qui ad defensionem muri erant, Pisanum unum nomine Leonardum peremerunt; datoque signo quod civitatem redderent, et pacem ad voluntatem regum Christianorum facerent, Christiani deposuerunt arma, et pagani de civitate venerunt loqui cum regibus, et postea reversi sunt in civitatem.

The Saracens propose a parley.

July 12. The kings agree to make terms with the besieged.

Hoveden, 396. a. 20.

Duodecima die mensis Julii, feria sexta, Philippus rex Franciæ, et Ricardus rex Angliæ et omnes principes exercitus Christianorum, tam clerici quam laici, mane convenerunt ad tentoria Templariorum, et principes pariter paganorum qui erant in civitate cum illis; et per consilium totius exercitus, prædicti reges pacem fecerunt cum paganis illis in hac forma.

Terms of surrender of Acre.

fo. 168 r°.

Hoveden, 396. a. 24.

"Pagani tradiderunt prædictis regibus civitatem "Acræ, cum auro et argento, et armis, et navibus, et "galeis, et victualibus, quæ in ea erant; et trecentos[1] "Christianos captivos qui erant in ea. Et conventio-"naverunt eis, quod ipsi redderent Crucem Sanctam "illis et mille quingentos[2] Christianos captivos; et "ducentos milites Christianos captivos, quales reges "elegerint, liberarent a captivitate eorum, et illos "redderent regibus; et quod darent regibus prædictis "ducenta millia bisantiorum; et quod ipsi in custodia "prædictorum regum remanerent obsides usque dum

[1] *trecentos*] quingentos, Hoveden.

[2] *quingentos*] om. H. The Itinerarium states the numbers of Christian captives to be released as two thousand nobler, and five hundred of inferior rank. Bohadin says 1,500 inferior knights, and a hundred of superior rank, to be chosen by the kings, p. 179. Bohadin also agrees with our author in giving the amount of ransom as 200,000 aurei, or as the Itinerarium expresses it, 200,000 Saracenic talents. Itin. R. R. 232.

Hoveden, 396. a. 29. "hæc omnia perficerentur. Et reges Franciæ et Angliæ "illis statuerunt quadraginta dierum[1] terminum ad "perficiendam istam conventionem. Quod si infra "terminum perfecissent conventionem quieti abissent "cum vita et membris, sin autem remanerent in mise-"ricordia regum de vita et membris." A.D. 1191. July 12. Capitulation of Acre.

Hoveden, 396. a. 31. His itaque conventionibus concessis utrobique et juratis, miserunt reges milites et servientes suos in civitatem, et elegerunt centum de majoribus paganis, et posuerunt eos in turribus et domibus fortioribus civitatis sub custodia. Cæteris paganis minoris pretii tradiderunt infra muros civitatis locum vacuum, et apposuerunt custodes qui administrarent illis quotidie victus necessaria. Postea vero cum audissent reges quod quidam illorum paganorum de nocte furtim abissent, retruserunt eos in arctiori custodia in cellariis, statuentes ut omnes qui baptizari vellent reciperentur et liberi fierent. Indeque factum est quod multi paganorum, postquam baptizati sunt, abirent ad Saladinum, relinquentes legem Christianam; et extunc prohibuerunt reges, ne aliquis illorum amplius reciperetur ad baptismum. Cumque Saladinus audisset quod pagani sui fecissent pacem cum regibus, dissimulavit hoc per se factum. Measures taken to secure the prisoners. The Saracen prisoners who have been baptized fly to Saladin.

Hoveden, 396. a. 40. Tertia decima die mensis Julii, civitas Acræ et omnes pagani et cætera omnia quæ erant in civitate partita sunt inter reges Franciæ et Angliæ, numero et mensura. Constituit autem rex Franciæ ex parte sua ad hoc faciendum, Drogonem de Merlou cum centum July 13. Division of the prisoners: Drogo de Merlou appointed to guard those of Philip;

[1] Bohadin, p. 182, speaks of three monthly instalments by which the ransom was to be paid; and our author apparently thought that the time allowed ended on the 9th of August: the Itinerarium argues as if it expired at the end of July. Probably Bohadin's version is the correct one, and the mention of forty days in the text is to be accounted for by the fact that that time actually expired before the pledge of Saladin was forfeited, and the hostages massacred, viz., Aug. 20.

A.D. 1191. July 13. Hugh de Gurnai those of Richard.

militibus; et rex Angliæ constituit ex parte sua Hugonem de Gurnai cum centum militibus. Hoveden, 396. a. 44.

July 14. Saladin retires to Safforia, and proposes terms of alliance with the Christians.

Quarta decima die mensis Julii, Saladinus et exercitus suus longius retraxit se ab exercitu Christianorum, et fixit tentoria in loco qui dicitur Safforia; et nuncii ejus ibant et redibant ad reges Franciæ et Angliæ cum muneribus suis; per quos obtulit eis totam terram Jerusalem præter Le Crag de Monte Regali quod est trans fluvium Jordanis, ita quod illi ei tradidissent duo millia militum et quinque millia servientium, ad serviendum ei per unum annum contra dominum Musæ, filium[1] Noradini, ut supradictum est: sed reges noluerunt audire hunc sermonem. Hoveden, 396. a. 46.

July 15. The engines dismounted.

Quinta decima die mensis Julii, Franciæ et Angliæ reges fecerunt disjungere perarias et alias machinas suas bellicas. Hoveden, 396. a. 52.

Richard sends to Saladin harriers and brachets.

Eodem die rex Angliæ misit Saladino leporarios et braschetos, id est, odorisequos, et accipitres.

July 16. Saladin sends present to Richard, and an embassy comes from the son of Noureddin, with proposals for an alliance.

Sexto decimo die mensis Julii, Saladinus misit regi Angliæ munera magna et valde pretiosa per Atta nuncium suum.

Eodem die venerunt nuncii ex parte domini Muscæ fo. 168 v°. et filii Noradini ad regem Franciæ et ad regem Angliæ. Hoveden, 396. a. 54.

Et obtulerunt eis quod omnes homines sui et ipse reciperent legem Christianam et baptizarentur, si illi vellent præstare eis auxilium contra Saladinum. Sciensque Saladinus omnia quæ dominus Muscæ et filius Noradini prædictis regibus Christianorum obtulerant, multo magis se devotiorem et humiliorem exhibuit illis in obsequiis faciendis.

Saladin proposes more favourable terms.

The bishop of Verona, with other

Eodem die Alardus Veronensis episcopus[2] et Sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinalis et apostolicæ sedis legatus, Hoveden, 396. b. 1.

[1] *filium*] et filios, Hoveden.

[2] Adelard, bishop of Verona, 1188–1211; cardinal priest of S. Marcellus, 1185.

Hoveden, 396. b. 2. et Tironensis,[1] et Pisanus,[2] et Auxiensis archiepiscopi, et Salesbiriensis et Ebroicensis, et Baonicensis et Tripolitanus, et Carnotensis et Belvacensis episcopi, et cæteri ecclesiarum principes, ecclesias civitatis Acræ sanctificaverunt, quas pagani polluerunt; et altaria ædificaverunt Domino, et Missarum sollemnia in eis celebraverunt. Reges autem et exercitus Christianorum intendebant reparationi murorum civitatis, et domos civitatis reædificaverunt. A.D. 1191. July 16. bishops, purifies the churches of Acre.

Hoveden, 396. b. 7. Sexta decima et septima decima et octava decima die mensis Julii, Pisani et nummularii et cæteri mercatores receperunt infra civitatem Acræ, per distributionem servientium regis Angliæ et regis Franciæ, mansiones suas in foro rerum venalium, reddituri inde singulis annis solitos redditus. July 16–18. The bankers and merchants have places assigned them

Hoveden, 396. b. 10. Nono decimo die mensis Julii, cum comites et barones exercitus, qui jam fere per biennium moram fecerant in obsidione Acræ, vidissent quod reges Franciæ et Angliæ omnia quæ ceperant in captione civitatis propriis marsupiis inclusissent, et nullam eis partem facere inde voluissent; convenerunt extra fossata exteriora, et habito ibi colloquio mandaverunt regibus quod ipsi cum illis diutius non facerent moram, nisi fuerint participes lucri sicut et laboris exstiterunt. Audientes itaque reges minas has, responderunt se satisfacturos voluntati eorum; sed quia id facere reges distulerunt de die in diem, multi paupertate coacti arma sua vendiderunt et ab illis recesserunt. July 19. The nobles of the crusade demand their share of the spoil. The kings delaying to comply, many return home.

Hoveden, 396. b. 17, shorter. Vicesima die mensis Julii, festo Sanctæ Margaretæ virginis, Ricardus rex Angliæ videns quod ipse et rex Franciæ nihil proficiebant adversus Saladinum in faciendo pacem, petivit a rege Franciæ, ut pariter cum exercitibus suis jurassent, per triennium se morari in terra illa ad debellandum inimicos Crucis Christi, nisi July 20. Richard proposes that the crusaders shall swear to stay three years in Palestine.

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[1] *Tironensis*] The archbishop of Tyre (?).

[2] *Pisanus*] Ubaldo Lanfranchi, 1174–1209.

A.D. 1191. July 20. Philip refuses to swear.

Saladinus redderet celerius Jerusalem et totam terram Jerosolimitanam. Cui rex Franciæ respondit se nullum sacramentum inde præstare. Habuit enim jam in mente in proximo recedere in regionem suam.

July 21. Richard brings his wife and sister into Acre.

Hoveden, 396. b. 21.

Die vicesima prima mensis Julii, Ricardus rex Angliæ intravit in civitatem Acræ, et habitavit in palatio regis, quod eum contingebat quando civitas partita fuit inter illum et regem Franciæ. Eodemque die introduxit ad se in palatium, uxorem suam reginam Angliæ, et Siciliæ reginam sororem suam, et filiam imperatoris de Cypra.

July 22. The French nobles come to ask Richard's advice about Philip's intention to return home.

Hoveden, 396. b. 24, shorter.

Die mensis Julii vicesima secunda, in festo Sanctæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, cum rex esset in palatio et principes exercitus sui convenissent coram eo ad audiendum præceptum ejus; venerunt ad eum ex parte regis Franciæ Robertus[1] Belvacensis episcopus et Hugo dux Burgundiæ, et Drogo de Amiens et Willelmus de Merlou, et cum steterunt coram rege et salutassent ex parte regis Franciæ, proruperunt in fletum ita quod unum solum verbum proferre non potuerunt. Quibus flentibus cæteri provocabantur in fletum propter motum animi quem viderant in eis. Cumque perstarent

fo. 169 r°.

in fletum rex Angliæ conversus ad eos dixit, "Nolite "flere, scio quod petituri estis. Dominus quidem vester, rex Franciæ, desiderat repatriare; et venistis "ex parte ejus ut habeat inde consilium a me et "licentiam redeundi." Tunc illi vultu demisso, "Domine," inquiunt, "vos nostis omnia; et nos ex parte "ejus ad vos venimus pro licentia et consilio vestro "ut possit redire. Dicit enim nisi celerius a terra "ista recesserit, morietur." Quibus rex Angliæ respondit, "Dedecus est et opprobrium sempiternum illi "et regno Franciæ, si imperfecto negotio pro quo "venit recesserit: et per consilium meum hinc non "recedet. At si oportet eum mori, vel in patriam

Richard's advice.

[1] So also Hoveden. It was Philip of Dreux. Hoveden gives a very brief account of this transaction.

" suam ire, liceat ei facere quod velit, et quod sibi et " suis commodius videtur." A.D. 1191.

Hoveden, 396. b. 30, shorter. July 23. The nobles of Philip's army beg him to stay.

Die vicesima tertia mensis Julii, cum divulgatum esset per exercitum quod rex Franciæ recederet, venerunt ad eum principes exercitus sui, et postulaverunt, ne ita impudenter a servitio Dei recederet; sed ut respiceret actus prædecessorum suorum, et dignitatem regis Francorum custodiret illæsam. Consensit tunc consilio fidelium suorum, et quærens occasionem remanendi iterum postulavit a rege Angliæ medietatem insulæ Cypræ, sed nihil impetravit; et exinde orta est discordia magna inter eos; tamen per consilium sapientum virorum utriusque quievit indignatio, et facti sunt amici.

He quarrels and is reconciled with Richard.

Hoveden, 396. b. 32. July 26. Conrad of Montferrat is reconciled with Richard.

Die vicesima sexta mensis Julii, per consilium regis Franciæ, venit Conradus Marchio et procidit ad pedes regis Angliæ, veniam petens et accipiens; odio enim illum habebat rex Angliæ propter Guidonem regem Jerusalem. In crastino, scilicet die vicesima septima mensis Julii, convenerunt reges in unum locum, et Guido de Lizinan et Conradus Marchio cum illis; cunctisque residentibus idem Conradus surrexit, et facto silentio petiit sibi regnum Jerosolimitanum de jure uxoris suæ, [sororis] Sibyllæ reginæ, quæ sine prole decessit. Guido de Lizinan petebat idem regnum, desicut ille rex inde exstiterat, et in nullo deliquerat quare illud deberet amittere: et uterque illorum posuit se in judicio et consilio regum Franciæ et Angliæ, et archiepiscoporum et præsulum, et comitum et baronum exercitus. Factaque pax et finalis concordia inter illos, consilio et judicio prædictorum regum et totius exercitus in hunc modum.

July 27. Conrad and Guy refer their claims to the arbitration of Richard and Philip with the bishops and barons.

July 28. They assemble to hear the decision.

Die Julii vicesima octava reges Franciæ et Angliæ, et omnes principes exercitus convenerunt ad palatium in quo rex Angliæ erat hospitatus; et Guido de Lisinant et Conradus Marchio cum illis ad audiendum judicium suum.

A.D. 1191. July 28. The decision. Guy is to be king for his life.

Inprimis prædicti Guido et Conradus juraverunt inconcusse se servare judicium illud inviolatum prout reges constituerent. Deinde prædicti reges judicaverunt cum toto exercitu, Guidoni regnum Jerosolimitanum; ita quod quamvis uxorem duceret et filios et filias generaret, tamen nullam hæreditatem in illo regno poterunt clamare; sed post decessum illius, si prædictus Conradus et uxor ejus, soror Sibyllæ reginæ, supervixerint eum, succedent ei in regnum, et hæredes illorum sequentur sceptrum, et jure hæreditario tenebunt illud. Et interim omnes redditus terræ Jerusalem dimidiabuntur inter Guidonem regem et prædictum Conradum quamdiu vixerint. Et Gaufridus de Lizinan, frater Guidonis regis, habebit comitatum de Jopen, id est, de Jafes; et Cæsaream; et possidebit ea jure hæreditario: et ipse et hæredes sui facient inde semper servitium regi Jerusalem solitum et debitum. Similiter prædictus Conradus habebit Tyrum et Sidonem et Baruht; et possidebit ea jure hæreditario; et ipse et hæredes sui facient inde semper servitium regi Jerusalem solitum et debitum. Hæc itaque omnia supradicta capitula firmiter et inconcusse tenenda, uterque illorum, scilicet Guido rex et Conradus Marchio, bona fide et sine malo ingenio juraverunt.

Hoveden, 396. b. 44.

Conrad is to succeed him.

The revenues are to be equally divided. Geoffrey of Lusignan is to have Joppa and Cæsarea: Conrad, Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus.

fo. 169 v°.

July 29. Philip gives Conrad his share of Acre:

Vicesima nona die mensis Julii Philippus rex Franciæ dedit Conrado Marchioni omnia quæ adquisierat in civitate Acræ.

Hoveden, 397. a. 2.

and asks leave to return home.

Et eodem die rex Franciæ, contra consilium et voluntatem principum suorum, iterum, quæsivit a rege Angliæ licentiam redeundi in patriam suam, et obtinuit petitionem suam. Et ipse juravit, tactis sacrosanctis Evangeliis coram omni populo, quod nec ipse damnum faceret, nec ab aliquo fieri permitteret, regi Angliæ vel terris vel hominibus suis; sed omnes homines et omnes terras illius bene et in pace custodiret, et secundum posse suum ab hostium invasione, terras et homines suos defenderet, ac si vellet defen-

Hoveden, 397. a. 4, shorter.

Richard grants it on condition that he shall swear to keep peace with him at home.

dere civitatem suam Parisius, si aliquis eam invasisset. A.D. 1191. July 29.

Hoveden, 397. a. 8. Deinde rex Franciæ constituit Hugonem ducem Burgundiæ principem exercitus sui sub rege Angliæ, et tradidit Raimundo [1] principi Antiochiæ centum milites et quingentos servientes ad defendendum civitatem Antiochiæ contra paganos; similiter rex Angliæ tradidit eidem principi Antiochiæ centum milites et quingentos servientes ad defensionem terræ suæ; et dedit unicuique illorum totam liberationem suam ab illo die usque ad Pascha proximo venturum, et constituit Robertum de Quinci constabularium et ducem illorum. Præterea rex Angliæ dedit prædicto principi Antiochiæ quinque naves magnas onustas equis et armis et victualibus. Philip places the duke of Burgundy in command of the French; and sends succours to Antioch.

Hoveden, 397. a. 15. Tricesima die mensis Julii, Philippus rex Franciæ et Ricardus rex Angliæ partiti sunt inter eos omnes paganos qui capti fuerant in civitate Acræ. July 30. Division of the prisoners.

Hoveden, 397. a. 16. Tricesima prima die mensis Julii, scilicet ultima die ejusdem mensis, festo Sancti Germani, Philippus rex Franciæ assumpsit secum Manasser episcopum de Lengris,[2] et Reginaldum episcopum Carnotensem, et Petrum comitem de Neverz: et abiit Tyrum adducens secum Karracois et omnes alios paganos qui illum contingebant; et cum inde recessisset tradidit illos Conrado Marchioni custodiendos.[3] July 31. Philip goes from Acre to Tyre.

Hoveden, 397. a. 21. Prima die mensis Augusti, et secunda et tertia, Ricardus rex Angliæ, habito consilio cum principibus exercitus, fecit in navibus ponere omnes perarias, et alias machinas suas bellicas; et omnes naves suas onerare fecit frumento, vino et oleo, et aliis quæ erant necessaria hominibus et equis. Fecitque edictum ut August 1-3. Richard embarks his engines and provisions.

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[1] *Raimundo*] Bohemond III.

[2] Manasser, 1179 or 1180–1192.

[3] Hoveden here adds, "Tertia "vero die mensis Augusti ex "Franciæ a Tyro recessit, tradens "Conrado Marchioni omnes paga- "nos suos in custodia."

A.D. 1191. omnes parati essent sequi eum cum equis et armis, dicebat enim se iturum Scalonam.

August 4. Richard hires all the archers in the host.

Quarta die mensis Augusti, Ricardus rex Angliæ omnes sagittarios exercitus venire coram eo fecit, et ipse dedit eis bona stipendia; et multitudo eorum erat adeo magna quod timor apprehendit Saladinum et exercitum ejus.

August 5. Richard sends Hubert Walter to Tyre for Philip's prisoners.

Hoveden, 397. a. 24, much shorter.

Quinta die mensis Augusti, rex Angliæ per consilium principum exercitus misit Hubertum Walteri Salesbiriensem episcopum[1] ad civitatem Tyri, propter paganos quos rex Franciæ secum abduxerat, ut illos ad exercitum reduceret. Dies enim peremptorius appropinquabat in quo ipsi perficere debebant conventionem quam fecerant cum regibus Franciæ et Angliæ, pro vita et membris habendis, et pro libertate redeundi, quia sine illis pax fieri non potuit. Qui cum Tyrum venisset, non invenit regem Franciæ ibi. Tertia enim die præcedenti inde recesserat, et in custodia Conradi dimiserat prædictos paganos. Dixit ergo Conrado Salesbiriensis episcopus causam adventus sui, et petiit ex parte regis Angliæ et principum exercitus, quod
o. 170 r°. ipse cum festinatione venisset ad regem Angliæ, et duxisset secum Karracois et cæteros paganos omnes.

Conrad refuses to send them.

Cui Conradus respondit, "Rex Angliæ nullum mihi "tradidit; nec ego ad illum ibo, nec aliquem paganorum ad illum mittam."

August 6. Hubert stays at Tyre, and then returns with the message, August 7.

Sexta die mensis Augusti episcopus Salesbiriensis moram fecit apud Tyrum in legatione illa. Postera vero die venit Accon, et narravit regi Angliæ primum secreto, deinde omnibus principibus exercitus, omnia quæ viderat et audierat a Conrado; unde rex et principes valde indignati sunt. Tunc rex ait, "Eamus et "vindicemus in perjurum illum injurias quas nobis

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[1] We learn from the Itinerarium, 242, that Robert count of Dreux, and Peter des Préaux, accompanied the bishop of Salisbury.

A.D. 1191. August 7. Hugh duke of Burgundy offers to go for the prisoners.

"facit, et auferamus ab eo civitatem Tyri, quia certus "sum quod ea quæ facit non facit per regem." Principes exercitus assensum præbuerunt dictis regis. Cumque Hugo dux Burgundiæ vidisset cor regis Angliæ ita inflammatum, ait, "Sustinete parumper, et "dimittite me illuc ire; et nisi ego eos adduxero, fiat "quod volueritis." Placuit sermo iste regi et cunctis audientibus.

Hoveden, 397. a. 23.

August 8. The duke goes to Tyre.

Octava igitur die mensis Augusti, dux Burgundiæ[1] assumpsit secum Robertum Belvacensem episcopum et Guidonem de Dampere, et Willelmum de Merlou, familiares Conradi. Et rex Angliæ associavit eis ex parte sua Robertum de Quinci; et profecti sunt Tyrum octava die mensis Augusti.

August 9. The day of ransom arrives; and is postponed until the 20th.

Nono die ejusdem mensis, feria sexta, erat primus dies peremptorius in quo Crux Sancta, et supradicti Christiani milites et servientes, et ducenta millia bisantiorum reddi debuerant regi Angliæ; et Saladinus debebat recipere paganos suos omnes qui capti erant in civitate Accon. Et quia illi quos rex Franciæ abduxerat nondum venerant, statutus est alius dies peremptorius usque in diem undecimum post illum.

Aug. 10 & 11. The duke stays at Tyre. August 12. He returns. Proposed conference between Richard and Saladin's brother, who fails to appear.

Decima et undecima die mensis Augusti, dux Burgundiæ et qui cum eo missi fuerant moram fecerunt cum Conrado apud Tyrum. Duodecima vero die Augusti redierunt Accon, et adduxerunt Karrakois et cæteros paganos quos rex Franciæ abduxerat. Eodem die rex Angliæ et multi cum eo exierunt fossata exteriora ad loquendum cum Thekedino[2] fratre Saladini, qui conabatur facere pacem inter regem Angliæ et Saladinum: sed Thekedinus non venit ad loquendum, nec misit nuncium, unde rex plurimum iratus dixit

[1] According to the Itinerarium, 242, the duke's companions were Drogo of Amiens and Robert de Quincy. Hoveden omits or abridges the whole detail, from the 8th to the 13th inclusive.

[2] *Thekedino*] This is probably a mistake for Safadin.

A.D. 1191. August 12. quod ipse nunquam de cætero loqueretur cum illo pacifice.

August 13. Richard declares himself ready to fulfil his part in the agreement. Tertia decima die mensis Augusti, rex Angliæ [misit] nuncium Saladino se paratum esse tenere omnem conventionem quam fecerat cum paganis, quos in civitate Accon ceperat, si ipse ea reddiderit quæ pro eis promiserat: sin autem, pro certo sciret quod omnia paganorum capita amputaret. Cui Saladinus respondit, "Si "tu meorum paganorum capita amputaveris, ego tuo-"rum amputabo capita Christianorum." Hoveden, 397. a. 33, shorter.

August 14. Richard with a small force encamps outside Acre. Vigilia beatæ Mariæ matris Domini, quæ quarta decima die mensis Augusti feria quarta fuit, rex Angliæ exivit exteriora fossata, et fixit tentoria prope exercitum Saladini, et præcepit ut omnes sequerentur; sed pauci secuti sunt eum propter inopiam equorum et aliorum quorundam quæ defuerunt eis. Hoveden, 397. a. 36.

August 15. The greater part of the army refuses to follow him without provisions. Quinta decima die mensis Augusti, festo Assumptionis Sanctæ Mariæ, rex Angliæ moram faciens in tentoriis, iterum per commune edictum præcepit ut omnis exercitus sequeretur eum. Multi autem secuti sunt eum; sed major pars exercitus murmuravit contra eum, dicens, "Durus est hic sermo; nos pauperes "sumus, et non habemus quid manducemus aut biba-"mus, neque vestes quibus operiamur, nec equos in "quibus ascendamus; quomodo ergo poterimus eum "sequi? Ipse enim nihil dat nobis." Pervenit itaque clamor populi ad aures regis, qui misertus illorum dedit universis quantum eis necessarium fuit. Eadem die nuncii Saladini ibant et revertebantur sæpius ad regem Angliæ cum muneribus pretiosis et cum prece, humiliter postulantes quod dies sententiæ quam ipse paganis constituerat prolongaretur. At rex munera illorum spernens, juravit quod dies sententiæ non prolongaretur. Nuncii tamen Saladini effecerunt adversus regem Angliæ, quod in crastino veniret ad colloquium inter ipsum et Saladinum; in crastino, scilicet decimo sexto die mensis Augusti. Quo cum rex Angliæ ve-

fo. 170 vº.

Richard provides for them.

Exchange of gifts between Richard and Saladin.

nisset, nec Saladinus nec nuncius venit pro eo illuc. Quod rex multum admirans, misit nuncios ad Saladinum inquirens quare non venisset ad colloquium. Quibus Saladinus, "Quia," inquit, "non potui perficere conventionem quam sui cum eo fecerant, ideo "non veni." A.D. 1191. August 16. Saladin fails to keep an appointment with Richard.

Die decimo septimo mensis Augusti, Sabbato, clerici civitatis Accon elegerunt sibi episcopum. August 17. A bishop of Acre chosen.

Hoveden, 397. a. 43. Die decimo octavo mensis Augusti, Saladinus fecit amputari capita omnium Christianorum captivorum, in die Dominica, quos reddere debuerat in redemptionem paganorum. Eodem die rex Angliæ removit exercitum suum, et fixit tentoria sua propius exercitui Saladini; et congressum fecit cum Saladino et cum gente sua; et multi ex utraque parte ceciderunt vulnerati et interfecti, inter quos Petrus Minnot[1] quidam familiaris regis Angliæ interfectus est. August 18. Saladin beheads his prisoners. Skirmish between Richard and Saladin.

Hoveden, 397. a. 47. Nona decima die Augusti, cum rex Angliæ audisset necem Christianorum quos Saladinus interfecerat, doluit vehementer, et tamen noluit diem peremptorium quem statuerat anticipare. August 19. Richard's indignation at Saladin's cruelty.

Hoveden, 397. a. 49. Vicesima die mensis Augusti, feria tertia,[2] xiii°. kalendas Septembris, Ricardus rex Angliæ fecit omnes paganos qui eum contingebant, ducere ante exercitum Saladini, et in conspectu omnium fecit amputare capita illorum. Dux vero Burgundiæ fecit amputare omnia capita paganorum qui dominum suum regem Franciæ contingebant, infra muros civitatis et extra, prope civitatem. August 20. Richard and the duke of Burgundy behead their prisoners.

Hoveden, 397. b. 2. Christiani vero paganos mortuos eviscerantes, in corporibus ipsorum multa invenere bisantia; et fel eorum resecabant, et usui medicinali reservabant. Treatment of the dead bodies.

Hoveden, 397. a. 55. At rex Angliæ noluit interficere Mestoch, qui erat admiralis de Roais, et constabularius de Jerusalem et The more important prisoners

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[1] *Minnot*] Mignot, Hoveden.

[2] Bohadin, 183, agrees with our author in this. The statement of the Itinerarium is rather ambiguous.

A.D. 1191. August 20. are reserved for ransom. de Scalona, nec Karracois qui erat summus consiliarius et eunuchus Saladini. Hi enim duo promiserant regi se reddituros ei Jerusalem et Scalonam pro vita et membris eorum. Noluit quoque rex interficere Hesedin filium Caulun,[1] nec Hesedin Jordic admiralem de Halape, nec Passelar constabularium Concon, nec Camardoli, thesaurarium armorum Accon, nec Kahedin qui erat scriptor in Acon. Omnes hi promittebant pecuniam multam et auxilia magna regi et Christianis pro vita et membris suis. Hoveden, 397. b. 1, shorter.

August 21. Acre committed to Bertram de Verdun and Stephen Longchamp. Die vicesima prima mensis Augusti, post necem paganorum, tradidit rex Angliæ civitatem Acon Bertramno de Verdun et Stephano de Nunchams, fratri Eliensis episcopi,[2] in custodia. Et dimisit ibi uxorem suam et sororem suam et filiam imperatoris Ysaac de Cypra. Et constituit alios quoque custodes qui custodirent civitatem et reginas et thesauros suos cum prædictis custodibus. Hoveden, 397. b. 3.

August 22. Richard leaves Acre, and stays three days between Acre and Haifa. The fleet coasts along the shore. Vicesima secunda die mensis Augusti, feria quinta, rex Angliæ transivit fluvium Acræ cum exercitu suo; et inter fluvium illum et mare, prope littus maris, fixit tentoria inter Acon et castellum Chaiphas; et ibidem moram fecit per tres[3] dies. Deinde perrexit cum exercitu secus littus versus Joppen, et naves ejus fo. 171 r°. juxta eum velificabant cum victualibus et machinis bellicis, ut cum necesse esset ad naves recuperare posset. Saladinus autem et exercitus ejus ibant per montana, a sinistris exercitus regis non longe ab eo, Hoveden, 397. b. 6.

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[1] *Caulun*] Caulini, Hoveden. Hoveden states here that the number of captives slain was 5,000; the Itinerarium gives 2,700; Bohadin, 3,000.

[2] Hoveden omits the name of Stephen Longchamp. It may be questioned whether he really was brother to William the chancellor; or if so, whether he is identical with Stephen of Longchamp, steward of Normandy under Richard I., who was certainly a man of good descent.

[3] *tres*] quatuor, Hoveden. The text is right, or at least agrees with the Itinerarium, according to which the army crossed the Belus on the 22nd, and started on the march to the coast on the 25th.

Hoveden, 397. b. 11. insidiantes die ac nocte, ut opportunitatem haberent congredi cum Christianis vel impediendi vias illorum. A.D. 1191.

Bellum inter Ricardum regem et Saladinum.

Hoveden, 397. b. 12, differently. Tertia autem die post Exaltationem Sanctæ Crucis,[1] infra mensem Septembris, cum rex appropinquasset Cæsareæ et venisset ad fluvium qui dicitur fluvius Cæsareæ, invenit ibi Saladinum et exercitum ejus magnum, qui fluvium undique occupaverant et tentoria sua fixerant ad impedimentum viæ. Videns itaque rex Angliæ quod ipse et exercitus suus nocte illa siti perirent, et pecora eorum, si haustus aquæ illis negaretur; videns quoque quod si pedem retraxissent omnes interficerentur, pagani enim eos ita circumdederant quod nulli securus patebat regressus, divisit statim exercitum suum per turmas, et hortabatur eos viriliter pugnare contra inimicos Crucis Christi, et jussit percutere gentem paganam. Sept. 17 (or rather Sept. 7). Richard finds Saladin encamped near Cæsarea. Richard divides his army.

Et in prima cohorte erat Jakes de Avennes, miles fide catholicus et militari probitate strenuus. Ipse autem cum cohorte sua primum impetum fecit in paganos, et perforavit illos. Sed ipse, proh dolor! cecidit in conflictu et occisus est, et multi Christiani et pagani ceciderunt in impetu illo.[2] James of Avesnes attacks the Turks. His death

Post illam cohortem venit alia cohors, in qua erat

[1] This curious mistake as to the date of the battle of Arsûf occurs also in Hoveden, although his account of the battle differs altogether from that in the text. The battle was fought on the 7th, not on the 17th of September. Here, evidently, we lose the guidance of the authority which has kept the journal of Richard's movements from his arrival in Palestine. Hoveden's error is inexcusable, as he gives a letter of Richard in which the date is correctly stated. But our author does not seem to have known of this letter, or of the one to the abbot of Clairvaux which follows it. Hoveden gives some additional particulars of the battle which are not in either letter.

[2] Brompton, 1214, interpolates here some particulars of the death of James of Avesnes, which he took from Hemingburgh.

A.D. 1191. Sept. 7. Richard leads the second division.

rex Angliæ, qui per medium paganorum transiens maximam stragem fecit ex obstantibus, et liberavit fluvium a paganis, et transivit fluvium et utramque ripam obtinuit et multæ cohortes Christianorum secutæ sunt eum sine impedimento.

The duke of Burgundy with the third division is beaten, but saved by Richard.

Ultimam vero cohortem Christianorum, cujus duces fuerunt Hugo dux Burgundiæ et Templarii, Saladinus et major et fortior pars exercitus ejus obsederant, et undique crudelissime invaserant, et occiderant jam maximam partem Christianorum. Rex autem Angliæ, qui longe præerat, audivit clamorem illorum, et gemitum Christianorum morientium, reversusque cum festinatione in auxilium illorum, impetum fecit in paganos et multos illorum interfecit, et sic liberavit populum suum a perditione. Pagani autem versi sunt in fugam, et Christiani secuti sunt illos in ore gladii; et plusquam quadraginta millia illorum interfecerant die illa, et reversi sunt ad fluvium.

The Turks desert Cæsarea, Joppa, and Ascalon.

Pagani autem qui custodiebant Cæsaream et Jopen et Scalonam, cum audissent adventum regis Angliæ, fugerunt, subvertentes muros et munitiones civitatum illarum in quantum poterant tanto tempore. Hoveden, 398. b. 7.

Richard determines to rebuild them.

Cumque rex Angliæ urbium illarum desolationem vidisset, reædificare eas studuit: et regressus in civitatem Acon, mensas nummulariorum subvertit, et elegit plusquam viginti millia hominum ex hominibus civitatis Acon, et reduxit secum ad præfatas urbes desolatas, et ex illis reædificavit eas.

De reditu regis Franciæ de terra Jerosolimitana.

August. Philip starts from Tyre, and passes Berytus, Jebeil, and Botrun.

Interim Philippus rex Franciæ, imperfecta peregrinatione sua, a terra Jerosolimitana recedens, cum quatuordecim galeis transitum fecit ante civitatem de Baruth, quæ tunc erat in manu paganorum. Deinde venit ante Gibbelet civitatem, et ante Buterun castel- Hoveden, 403. a. 26.

Hoveden, 403. a. 29. lum et ante Neffin castellum. Deinde venit ad civitatem Tripolis, ubi moram fecerat per aliquot dies. A.D. 1191. August. He comes to Tripoli.

Hoveden, 403. a. 30. Et cum inde recessisset venit ante castellum de Archis, et ante castellum Album; deinde ante Le Culiat castellum Hospitalis; deinde ante Turtusam, quæ est insula in mari quæ dicitur Aredos, unde Turtusa dicitur civitas Antaradensis, civitas episcopalis. Deinde venit ad Maureclaye, portum bonum; et recedens inde transivit ante Margat, castellum Hospitalis.[1] He passes Arka, Castel Blanc, el Khulat, Tortosa, Maraclea, Merkeb. fo. 171 vº.

Hoveden, 403. a. 36. Deinde venit ad Valenam, civitatem episcopalem, et postea venit ad civitatem episcopalem quæ dicitur Gibel: deinde ad civitatem Melidam; deinde ad portum Sancti Symeonis; deinde ad civitatem Antiochenam. Banias, Jebleh, Melibea, S. Symeon, Antioch.

Hoveden, 403. a. 38. Et rediens inde transivit per portum Bunel, deinde per portum Alexandret; deinde intravit terram Erminiorum quæ dicitur Erminia; et est terra Rupini de la Muntaine.[2] Beilan (?). Alexandretta and Armenia.

Hoveden, 403. a. 40. Deinde venit ad fluvium qui dicitur Til, et est ibi civitas bona super fluvium illum, quæ similiter dicitur Til. Et inde ad fluvium magnum qui dicitur Curch, et ibi est civitas magna deserta quæ dicitur Curch super fluvium. Deinde venit ad fluvium magnum tertium qui dicitur Salef; et ibi est civitas super fluvium quæ dicitur Salef. In isto fluvio Salef submersus est Fredericus imperator Romanorum, cum exiret de terra Soltani de Yconio. Corycus and Salef.

Hoveden, 403. a 46. Et sciendum est quod a finibus illis venerunt illi tres reges qui obtulerunt Domino nostro Jesu Christo aurum, thus et myrrham, quorum nomina hæc sunt, Jespar, Baptizar, Melchior, quorum unus erat rex de insula Saleph; et alter rex de Malmistre, et tertius The country of the three kings.

[1] Hoveden inserts, "ubi Isakius "imperator de Cypre tenebatur in "vinculis."

[2] Hoveden adds, "sub principe "Antiochiæ."

A.D. 1191. The three kings came from Salef, Malmistra, and Tarsus.

erat rex de Terzeil, id est, Tharsis: unde dicitur in psalmo "reges Tharsis et insulæ munera offerent." Et notandum quod hi tres fluvii, scilicet Saleph, et Curch, et Thil, oriuntur in Turkia, quæ dicitur terra Turchorum, qui sunt homines Soldani de Iconio; et dividit terram Turchorum a terra Rupini de la Muntane; et descendunt in gulfum Sataliæ. Et Salef fluvius oppositus est insulæ de Cipre, quæ non distat ab ea plusquam quinquaginta milliaria, ad æstimationem nautarum, facile enim videtur de una ripa in alteram.

Hoveden, 403. a. 49. Ps. lxxii. 10.

Philip passes Sessin, Estelmur (Anamur), Kelenderi; Antiochetta.

Et cum rex Franciæ a Saleph fluvio recessisset, transivit juxta montes excelsos qui dicuntur Carmerdes.[1] Deinde transivit ante castellum quod dicitur Nessekin; deinde venit ad villam bonam quæ dicitur Stamere, in qua nobilis abbatia est Griffonum. Deinde transivit ante castellum desertum quod dicitur castellum de Roto. Deinde venit ad fluvium qui dicitur Scalendros. Fluvius ille dividit terram Erminiorum quæ est terra Rupini de la Montane, a terra imperatoris Constantinopolitani. Et ibi ex una parte illius fluvii, in terra prædicti Rupini secus mare est castellum quod dicitur Ysanci; et ex altera parte illius fluvii in terra imperatoris Constantinopolitani est castellum quod dicitur Antiochet.

Hoveden, 403. b. 1.

He knights the eldest son of Constantine of Antiochetta.

Cumque rex Franciæ illuc venisset, Constantinus, qui tunc erat dominus castelli illius, recepit eum cum gaudio, et administrabat ei necessaria. Et rex Franciæ ibi moram fecit per octo dies, et filium prædicti Constantini primogenitum fecit militem.

Hoveden, 403. b. 9.

Here is the frontier of Armenia and the empire.

Et sciendum est, quod a fluvio illo qui dicitur Scalandros, tota terra quæ est secus mare versus septentrionem est terra imperatoris Constantinopolis et dicitur Rumania; idem est quod Græcia.

Hoveden, 403. b. 12.

Et cum rex Franciæ recessisset ab Antiochet, statim intravit gulfum Sathaliæ. Gulfus dicitur ubi aqua

Hoveden, 403. b. 14.

[1] *Carmerdes*] Cathimerdes, H.

Hoveden, 403. b. 15. protenditur inter duas terras et sinum facit. Sathalia castellum est optimum, unde gulfus ille nomen accepit; et super gulfum illum sunt duo castella et villæ, et utrumque dicitur Satalia. Sed unum illorum est desertum et dicitur vetus Satalia, quod piratæ destruxerunt; et alterum nova Satalia dicitur, quod Manuel imperator Constantinopolis firmavit. A.D. 1191. Philip enters the gulf of Satalia;

Hoveden, 403. b. 18. Transitoque gulfo Sataliæ, transivit rex Franciæ cum galeis suis sub monte qui dicitur Siredone in fine gulfi Sataliæ. Deinde transivit per montem excelsum valde, qui dicitur Reswz. fo. 172 r°. he passes Chelidonia;

Hoveden, 403. b. 20. Deinde venit ad fluvium qui dicitur Winke, super quem est castellum destructum per piratas quod dicitur Reswz. Et fluvius ille dicitur portus Pisanorum, eo quod piratæ Pisani portum illum sæpius frequentant. Et contigit quod cum rex Franciæ transisset perinde invenit ibi quatuor galeas piratarum, qui multa mala fecerant Christianis; et cepit eas rex. Piratæ autem, relictis galeis fugerunt in montanis, et sic evaserunt mortem. the river Phineka, and port of the Pisans;

Hoveden, 403. b. 25. Deinde venit rex ad Mirream civitatem, ubi beatus Nicholaus archiepiscopatum tenuit, quæ Græce dicitur Stamirre. Myra;

Hoveden, 403. b. 26. Deinde venit ille ad bonum portum et securum in omni tempestate et vento, qui dicitur Crachous;[1] et ex utraque parte illius portus fuerunt antiquitus civitates pulchræ et magnæ quæ dicebantur Cake. Et ruinæ magnæ apparent usque in hodiernum diem; et nemo in eis habitat propter metum piratarum. Kekova,

Hoveden, 403. b. 30. Deinde transivit per insulas de Yse, in quarum una est castellum quod dicitur Castellum Ruge. Ibi mansit jamdudum quædam puella quæ Yse vocabatur, a cujus nomine insulæ illæ nomen acceperunt. Indigenæ quidem narrant quod quidam miles dilexit puellam illam, et illa noluit consentire illi quamdiu vixit: qua Kastelorizo legend about the place.

[1] *Crachous*] Karkois, H.

A.D. 1191. Legend of the gulf of Satalia. Hoveden, 403. b. 34.

defuncta miles accessit et concubuit cum ea dicens, "Quod cum viva facere non potui, cum mortua feci:" cui illa[1] dicitur respondisse, "Ecce, genuisti in me "filium, et cum tempus pariendi advenerit ego afferam "tibi filium tuum." Et post novem menses, cum tempus pariendi instaret, peperit filium sed abortivum; quem portans ad militem, ait, "Ecce filius tuus, quem "genuisti: abscide caput ejus et reserva tibi; quando-"cunque enim volueris inimicum tuum vincere vel "terram ejus destruere, vultus capitis abscisi disco-"operiatur, et convertetur versus inimicum tuum et "terram ejus; et statim ipse et terra ejus peribunt. "Et cum cessare volueris recooperiatur caput, et ces-"sabit tribulatio." Et factum est ita, quemcunque enim destruere volebat, ipse destruxit. Post multum vero temporis miles ille duxit uxorem, quæ sæpius interrogavit eum qua arte vel ingenio ita destruebat omnes inimicos suos sine armis et sine exercitu. Ille autem ei dicere noluit, sed increpavit ut taceret; et quanto plus ipse increpavit eam tanto plus illa anxiabatur ut sciret. Contigit ergo quadam die, dum miles abesset, et ipsa esset cum solis puellis suis in secretiori thalamo:[2] accessit ad arcam in qua sperabat esse secretum illud domini sui, per quod ipse ita inique operabatur; et invenit in arca caput illud detestabile; et statim projecit illud in gulfo Sataliæ. Et dicitur quod quandocunque caput illud resupinum est, commovetur gulfus ille adeo quod nulla navis illum transire potest; et quando caput illud supinum jacet, fit tranquillitas magna in illo gulfo. Credat hoc Judæus Apella, non ego.

Another story. Hoveden, 403. b. 48.

Et est aliud mirabile quod unoquoque mense anni semel contingit in gulfo illo Sataliæ. Videtur itaque quod draco magnus niger in nubibus veniat, et mittat

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[1] Hoveden says, "Et statim intravit Satan in illam et ait."

[2] *et ipsa . . . thalamo*] om. H.

Hoveden, 403. b. 49. caput suum in undis, et cauda ejus videtur quod infixa sit cœlo: et draco ille attrahit ad se undas hauriendo cum tanta aviditate, quod si navis aliqua fuerit prope haustum illum, etiam si fuerit onusta viris vel quibuslibet aliis ponderosis, tamen hauritur et defertur in sublime. Volentes autem periculum hoc devitare, oportet quod cum primo illud vident, faciant tumultum, et clamationes altas et sonitus magnos, percutientes in tabulis: ut cum draco ille audierit tumultum et voces clamantium, elonget se ab eis. Quidam autem dicunt, quod hoc non est draco sed sol qui attrahit aquas maris ad se, quod plus verum videtur. A.D. 1191. fo. 172 vo. Mythic account of a waterspout in the gulf of Satalia.

Hoveden, 403. b. 54. Deinde[1] cum rex Franciæ recessisset ab insulis de Yse, fecit transitum per montem excelsum, in cujus summitate sita est Patera civitas, in qua natus fuit et diu conversatus beatus Nicholaus. Philip passes Patara;

Hoveden, 404. a. 1. Inde transivit per montem valde excelsum, qui caput dicitur Turkiæ, quia ii qui veniunt de Apulia, et cursum suum in illa parte maris tenent, et appropinquant Turkiæ, primo vident montem illum qui dicitur Caput Turkiæ.[2] Estque divisa inter terram imperatoris Constantinopolis, et terram Soldani de Yconio: et exinde incipit Rumania quæ dicitur Græcia. the Cape of Turkey.

Hoveden, 404. a. 4. Tota Rumania terra firma est, et est de dominio imperatoris Constantinopolis, et multæ insulæ sunt in mari Græco, quæ dicuntur insulæ Rumaniæ. Caput Rumaniæ, est civitas Constantinopolis; et Rumania jungitur Sclavoniæ et Hungariæ et Istriæ. In mari Græco, ut dictum est, sunt insulæ multæ, etsi non omnia scribantur in libro hoc.[3] Tamen "est quoddam "prodire tenus si non datur ultra." Continent and islands of Romania.

Hoveden, 404. a. 7. Nomina autem quarundam principalium insularum sunt hæc;[4] insula de Creta quæ magna est et fertilis: Crete,

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[1] Hoveden proceeds as if making an extract, "Sequitur cum," &c.

[2] *quia . . . Turkiæ*] om. H.

[3] *In mari . . . hoc*] om. H.

[4] "Insula Siciliæ, quæ est regis "Siciliæ," MS. Hoveden, wrongly, as the question is of islands in the Greek sea

A.D. 1191. Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus, Milo, Piscopia, Scio, Samos, Naxia, Stampalia, Corfu, Scarpanto, Zante, Ithaca, Andro, Tino.

et in medio insulæ hujus videtur mons magnus qui dicitur mons Cameli; insula de Rodes, insula Cipre, insula Mil,[1] insula Hiscopiæ, insula Yski in qua crescit copia speciei quæ dicitur Mastic; insula Ysame, insula Ynixea, insula Stuple,[2] insula Cuverfu, insula Serfent, insula Sasent, insula quæ dicitur Fale de Compar, insula Andre, insula Tine. Sed in multis insularum istarum nemo habitat propter metum piratarum. In quibusdam illarum habitant piratæ. Sunt et aliæ in mari Græco insulæ quæ hic non scribuntur. (Hoveden, 404. a. 9.)

Philip stays a few days at Rhodes;

Deinde cum rex Franciæ transisset caput Turkiæ, transivit inde usque insulam de Rodes, quæ est opposita capiti Turkiæ; et mansit ibi per aliquot dies in civitate quæ dicitur Rodes, quam Herodes ædificavit qui et fecit amputari caput Sancti Johannis Baptistæ. Indeque transivit ad civitatem quæ dicitur Niniven, quæ est in ipsa insula de Rodes.[3] (Hoveden, 404. a. 17.)

Rhodes is a third part of the way from Acre to Brundusium.

Et inter insulam de Rodes et Rumaniam est mare latum per viginti milliaria ad æstimationem nautarum. Et cum perventum fuerit ad insulam de Rodis præteritur tertia pars viæ maris inter Accaron et Brandusium; et mille sexcenta milliaria computantur inter Accon et Brandusium; et inter Marsiliam et insulam Siciliæ computantur mille sexcenta milliaria. Et insula de Sardena est in medio viæ, inter Marsiliam et Siciliam. Et inter Siciliam et Accaron mille sexcenta milliaria computantur. Et insula de Creta est in medio viæ inter Siciliam et Accaron. (Hoveden, 404. a. 19.)

Voyage from Marseilles to Acre.

Sciendum est quod si prosper ventus fuerit navigantibus a Marsilia versus Accaron, dimittent insulam de Sardena, et Siciliam et Cretam a sinistris navigii ita longe quod nullam illarum videre possint; via autem illa gravior est et securior. Sed videant ne nimis se trahant in dexteram partem navigii, propter (Hoveden, 404. a. 26.)

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[1] *insula Mil*] om. H.

[2] Here Hoveden inserts, "Insula "de Mil, insula de Quales."

[3] *Indeque . . . Rodes*] om. H.

Hoveden, 401. a. 30. Barbariem et alias insulas in quibus pagani habitant.[1] A.D. 1191. fo. 173 r°.
Sed galeæ non audent nec possunt viam illam ire, quia si tempestas supervenerit, ex facili submergerentur; et ideo oportet eos ire semper juxta terram nisi faciat serenum valde.[2]

Hoveden, 401. a. 33. Et qui voluerit transire a capite Turkiæ per costeram Rumaniæ, transibit usque ad montem excelsum qui dicitur Serfent; et ad montem illum incipit Brachium Sancti Georgii, per quod navigatur usque ad Constantinopolim. Deinde est Malveise, mons magnus; deinde Caput Meliæ, mons magnus: deinde Gulfus de Witun, et super gulfum illum est castellum bonum et forte quod dicitur Maine, et gens mala ibi est.[3] Et super gulfum illum est civitas episcopalis quæ dicitur Curun; et ibi crescit copia olivarum, adeo quod dicitur quod in toto mundo non est locus ubi sit [tanta] copia olei olivarum. In exitu autem ejusdem gulfi de Witun est civitas episcopalis antiqua, deserta nunc, quam Rogerus rex Siciliæ destruxit eo quod piratæ ibi habitabant, et dicebatur Muszun: ante cujus introitum duæ sunt insulæ magnæ, quarum una Sapientia, alia insula dicitur Vulturum, quia[4] inibi est copia vulturum. Deinde non longius a terra quam per viginti milliaria, est quædam rupis periculosa in mari, rotunda, humilis, et sæpe operitur aqua maris, quæ dicitur Triffar; et inter rupem illam et Muszun computantur quinquaginta milliaria. Estque valde necessarium quod naves non elongent se a terra, donec præterierint illud periculum. Deinde quasi per centum milliaria a rupe est insula quæ dicitur Serfent, quæ est Margariti, et aliæ duæ insulæ ibi sunt, quarum una dicitur Chefeleine, et altera Jagent: et utraque est Margariti.

Voyage from Cape of Turkey; by Scarpanto. Malvasia. Cape Malio. Maina. Coron. Modon. Sapienza. Strivali. Cephalonia, Zante.

[1] *habitant*] sub imperatore Africæ, ins. H.
[2] *nisi . . . valde*] om. H.
[3] *et gens . . . est*] om. H.
[4] *quia*] pro, B.

De Roberto Wiscard.

A.D. 1191. Account of Robert Wiscard.

Deinde est portus Wiscard. Et notandum est quod Robertus Wiscard fuit natione Normannus, et diu conversatus in curia Henrici[1] regis Angliæ filii Willelmi Bastard, qui regem Haraldum devicit in prælio et regnum obtinuit. Iste Robertus, licet esset de familia regis, tamen pauper erat; et licet probus fuerit, tamen nullam gratiam potuit invenire ditandi apud regem illum. Unde factum est ut ipse natale suum desereret. Itaque Romam petiit, et a summo pontifice[2] consilium et licentiam accepit barbaras nationes sibi subjugare. Confluebat ergo ad eum multitudo magna virorum, tum propter animi sui audaciam, et corporis probitatem; tum propter manus suæ irreprehensibilem largitatem. Et ipse et Rogerus frater ejus procedentes venerunt in Apuliam, et videntes eam terram bonam et fertilem, et homines terræ illius Griffones armis indoctos abundare divitiis, cupiebant subjicere eam sibi: et sæpius cum hominibus illis dimicantes tandem vicerunt, et totam Apuliam et Calabriam, et Capuam cum principatu subjugaverunt sibi, eripientes de manibus imperatoris Romanorum. Et Robertus Wiscard dedit Tancredo[3] filio suo Apuliam et Calabriam et Capuam cum principatu; et ipse ad majora anhelans naves et galeas sibi parare fecit, jactans quod ipse subjugaret sibi imperium Constantinopolitanum.[4] Et cum omnia itineri suo necessaria essent parata, intravit naves et galeas cum uxore sua, et

Hoveden, 401. a. 49.

He aspires to conquer Constantinople.

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[1] As Robert Wiscard began his career in Italy in 1059, and died in 1085, it is clear that the author transcribed by our Chronicler was altogether wrong in his chronology.

[2] Nicolas II. in 1059.

[3] Tancred was not the son of Robert Wiscard, but of Eudes the Good Marquis and Emma daughter of Robert. The son meant here is Roger, the offspring of Robert's second marriage.

[4] Hoveden here inserts the story of Robert and his two sons fighting three battles the same day against the emperor of Constantinople, the pope, and the emperor of the Romans; the Normans being in each case victorious.

Hoveden, 404. b. 13. cum viris suis armatis et bellicosis; et insulas, scilicet A.D. 1191.
Cretam, et Cuverfu, et Rodes, et alias insulas multas Conquests of Robert Wiscard.
in circuitu sibi subjugavit; pervenitque ad portum qui nunc nomine suo nuncupatur Portus Wiscardi. Quo cum progredere voluisset, et intrare in Rumaniam, Alexis imperator Constantinopolis mandavit uxori prædicti Roberti Wiscardi, quod si ipsa virum suum neci tradidisset, et sic terram suam de eo liberasset, ille duceret eam in uxorem et faceret eam imperatricem Constantinopolis. Concessit itaque mulier illa voluntati imperatoris, et dedit marito suo venenum bibere; et mortuus est: et ibidem in insula quæ usque fo. 173 v°.
in hodiernum diem dicitur Portus Wiscardi sepultus His death.
fuit, et totus exercitus ejus dissipatus est. Mulier autem ejus fugit ad imperatorem Constantinopolis, qui eam conventionem ei adimplevit. Illam namque sibi desponsavit et coronavit in imperatricem; et cum omnis solemnitas in desponsatione et coronatione facta esset, ita quod ipsa diceret imperatori, "Jam perfecistis "mihi totam conventionem meam," imperator ostendit Fate of his wife.
coram imperatrice et omni populo conventionem quam ipse et illa fecerant, et qualiter illa morti tradiderat maritum suum Robertum Wiscard: et quæsivit ab eis judicium de ea et consilium; et omnes judicaverunt eam ream mortis, et accenso rogo illa injecta est, et in cinerem redacta.

Hoveden, 404. b. 31. Interim Rogerus frater prædicti Roberti Viscardi Roger Wiscard conquers Sicily.
debellavit Siculos, et totam sibi subjugavit Siciliam, et factus est comes Siciliæ. Sicilia insula est magna, et tunc temporis, antequam prædictus Robertus eam debellasset, fuit inhabitata paganis et erat de dominio imperatoris de Marrohc. Sed præfatus Rogerus eripuit eam de manibus illius, et expulsis inde paganis legem Christi in ea primus introduxit.[1] Deinde obiit filius

[1] Hoveden adds, "et fecit in ea "duos archiepiscopatus et sex epi- "scopatus." Wrongly, for the archbishopric of Palermo was the only metropolitan see in Sicily until 1166, when Messina was raised to that rank.

A.D. 1191. Roberti Wiscardi sine prole; cui ipse dederat Apuliam et Calabriam et Capuam. Rogerus autem comes Siciliæ uxorem duxit, de qua genuit filium quem appellavit Rogerum, cui ipse dedit Apuliam et Calabriam faciens inde ducatum, et dedit illi Capuam. Deinde obiit Rogerus frater Roberti Wiscardi, et Rogerus filius ejus successit ei in comitatu Siciliæ. Hoveden, 401. b. 35.

Roger II. count of Sicily.

Lewis VII. and Eleanor visit Roger II.

Et paulo post contigit quod Lodovicus rex Francorum et Alienor regina uxor ejus iter Jerosolimitanæ profectionis susciperent; et cum venissent in Siciliam, præfatus Rogerus comes Siciliæ cum debito honore et gaudio suscepit eos, et ad preces illius rex Franciæ Lodovicus fecit illum regem, coronam capiti suo imponens; et iste Rogerus ita factus est primus rex coronatus de Sicilia.[1] Qui uxorem duxit, ex qua genuit duos filios et unam filiam. Filius ejus primogenitus vocatus est Rogerus, et alter Willelmus, et filia vocata est Constantia. Filius ejus primogenitus factus est dux Apuliæ, et nesciente patre suo et inconsulto uxorem duxit, de qua genuit filium quem nominavit Tancredum. Qui decessit ante patrem suum.[2]

Lewis VII. makes him king.

His eldest son Roger was father of Tancred.

William I. king of Sicily.

Deinde obiit Rogerus rex Siciliæ pater ejus, et Willelmus filius ejus successit ei in regnum.[3] Willelmus ille uxorem[4] duxit, de qua unicum filium genuit quem Willelmum appellavit. Iste Willelmus ultimus successit patri suo in regnum,[5] et duxit in uxorem Johannam filiam Henrici regis Angliæ, filii Matildis imperatricis. Et Willelmus iste decessit sine prole; sed ante obitum suum constituit Constantiam amitam suam, uxorem Henrici regis Alemannorum, hæredem Hoveden, 404. b. 45.

William II. marries Johanna of England.

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[1] Hoveden omits the story about Lewis VII., and simply says, "et "paulo post per consilium comitum "et baronum suorum fecit se coro-"nari in regem Siciliæ." Roger accepted the title of king first from the antipope Anacletus, Sept. 27, 1130, and was crowned the Christmas following. He was invested by pope Leo IX. with the kingdom in 1139, July 25.

[2] In 1149.

[3] In 1154.

[4] Margaret, daughter of Garcias Ramirez, king of Navarre.

[5] In 1166.

Hoveden, 404. b. 49. regni Siciliæ; et fecit omnes primates regni sui jurare fidelitates prædictæ amitæ, ut ipsi illam in dominam et reginam susciperent si ille sine prole decessisset.[1] A.D. 1191. Constance appointed his successor.

Hoveden, 404. b. 53, shorter. Quo sine prole decedente, Rogerus de Andria et cæteri fideles terræ miserunt pro Constantia domina sua; sed priusquam illa venisset Tancredus comes de la Liche, filius Rogeri filii Rogeri regis, transgressus fidem et sacramentum quod juraverat prædictæ Constantiæ, usurpavit sibi regnum Siciliæ et Apuliam et Calabriam et Capuam cum principatu. Quod cum Henrico regi Alemannorum et Constantiæ uxori ejus nunciatum esset, miserunt archiepiscopum Maguntinum et Henricum Teste, cum magno exercitu in Apuliam ad subjiciendum eam sibi, ut supradictum est, nihil profecerunt in expeditione illa. On the death of William II. Tancred usurps the crown. Henry VI. invades Apulia.

Hoveden, 405. a. 11. Sequitur:[2] cum rex Franciæ præterisset insulam de Rodes, transivit usque in Romaniam, habensque illam in dexteram partem navigii, transivit per montem magnum qui dicitur Caput Meliæ. Deinde venit in Gulfo de Withun, et transitum fecit per castellum quod dicitur Maine. Deinde venit in eodem gulfo ad civitatem episcopalem quæ dicitur Curun; et deinde venit ad Muzun, civitatem desertam, quæ est in fine ejusdem gulfi. Deinde præteriit insulam de Triffar: deinde venit ad insulas quarum una dicitur Chefeline, et alteri Fale de Compar. Et illæ duæ insulæ dicuntur Portus Wiscardi: et prope exitum insulæ quæ dicitur Fale de Compar est villa parvula, modo deserta, quam Robertus Wiscardus ædificavit, et ibidem obiit, et ibidem sepultus multo tempore jacuit.[3] Et in Romania ex opposito est quædam villa quæ dicitur Sanctus fo. 174 r°. Philip passes Cape Malio, the gulf of Kolokythia, Maina, Coron, Modon, Strivali, Cephalonia, Ithaca (Val di Compare).

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[1] Hoveden, instead of following the text, here inserts the account of the campaign of Henry VI. in Naples, as it appears p. 206 below. "Magno congregato exercitu . . . "regi Siciliæ."

[2] This *Sequitur* does not occur in Hoveden, who gives the following particulars with slight abridgment.

[3] *et prope . . . jacuit*] om. Hoveden.

A.D. 1191. Saint Salvator opposite the Port of Wiscard.

Salvator, et in insulis illis est habitatio piratarum; et inter insulas illas est via navium satis periculosa, et ideo est via securior de foris; et tunc dimittendæ sunt insulæ illæ in dextera parte navis.[1] Hoveden, 405. a. 17.

Philip arrives at Corfu.

Sequitur:[2] cum rex Franciæ recessisset a Portu Wiscardi, venit ad insulam de Cuverfu, quæ distat a portu Wiscardi per centum milliaria, ad introitum insulæ de Cuverfu.[3] In illa parte protenditur quædam arena a capite insulæ usque Romaniam per medium introitus; et alta est, ita quod super arenam illam mare non habet plus profunditatis quam quatuor ulnas et dimidium ulnæ. Hoveden, 405. a. 18.

Account of Corfu.

Insula autem de Cuverfu magna est et fertilis, et reddit domino suo imperatori Constantinopolis singulis annis quindecim quintallos auri purissimi de redditu annuo: et pondus quintalli est pondus centum librarum auri. In insula de Cuverfu sunt civitates et castella multa et bona; et insula illa distat a Romania per sex milliaria, in illo loco ubicunque mare latius fuerit inter illam et Romaniam. Sed antequam perventum fuerit ad exitum insulæ via navium est ita stricta inter insulam illam et Romaniam quod homo audiri potest ab una ripa in alteram. Et via illa satis periculosa est, tum quia tam stricta est, tum quia eundum est per circumamfractus et diverticula; et dicuntur Districtæ de insula de Cuverfu. Et insula de Cuverfu non habet plusquam quinquaginta milliaria in longitudine,[4] et ideo securius est dimittere insulam illam a dextris navigii et ire per magnum pelagus. Et antequam perventum fuerit ex toto ad exitum illius Hoveden, 405. a. 22.

Advice to mariners.

[1] *et inter . . . navis*] om. Hoveden.

[2] *Sequitur*] om. Hoveden, who still abridges.

[3] *Cuverfu*] versus terram Suliæ, add. H.

[4] Here Hoveden, who otherwise greatly abridges the text, adds, "et "inter Cuverfu et Apuliam computantur c. milliaria, et facile videtur Cuverfu ab illis qui sunt in "Apulia, sed non e converso, quia "Apulia terra bassa est et Cuverfu "terra alta."

Hoveden, 405. n. 29. insulæ, invenitur ex parte Romaniæ castellum desertum A.D. 1191.
quod dicitur Butentrost secus littus maris, in quo Butrinto;
Judas proditor natus fuit. Et cum perventum fuerit
in fauce maris fere ad exitum insulæ de Cuverfu,
transeundum est ante quandam civitatem antiquam et
desertam quæ dicitur Caszope, et stat in insula de Cassiopo
Cuverfu secus littus maris; in qua est tanta copia
serpentium et aliorum vermium venenosorum quod
nemo ausus est prope illam applicare. Deinde est
exitus insulæ de Cuverfu quasi per tria milliaria distans
a prædicta civitate vermium; et in opposita
parte super littus maris in Romania est civitas deserta
quæ dicitur Sancta Karentet. Et ibi est bonus portus, Santa Quaranta;
latus et profundus; sed ad exitum illius portus in fauce
maris est quædam rupis similis turri semiruptæ quæ
stat in littore maris, et protenditur longe per medium
portus sub undis, et occupat fere medietatem portus.
Et via navium est non longe a ripa insulæ de Cuverfu.
Et cum perventum fuerit in magnum pelagus tres insulæ
sunt juxta insulam de Cuverfu, quarum exterior
dicitur Fanum. Deinde quasi per quadraginta milliaria Fano;
ab insula de Cuverfu est mons magnus in capite
Rumaniæ qui dicitur Paxo. Et a monte illo usque ad Paxo; Otranto;
civitatem archiepiscopalem quæ dicitur Ortrente, quæ
est in Apulia, computantur quinquaginta milliaria; a
monte illo usque ad civitatem archiepiscopalem quæ fo. 174 v°.
dicitur Brandusium computantur centum milliaria.
Et a monte illo qui dicitur Paxo incipit gulfus de
Venetia, qui habet in longitudine mille et quinquaginta
milliaria, et in latitudine centum milliaria. Brindisi;
Euntes autem per gulfum illum ad Venetiam, dimittent
Rumaniam et Sclavoniam et Istriam in dexteram
partem illorum: et in sinistram partem illorum dimittent
Apuliam, in qua sunt portus quorum nomina hæc Ports of Apulia, Leuca
sunt; primo portus qui dicitur Leuke, deinde portus

[1] *Leuke*] Deinde portus qui dicitur Castre, ins. H.

A.D. 1191. Otranto, Lecce, Brindisi, Monopoli, Bari, Trani, Barletta, Siponto, Viesti, Termola.

qui dicitur Ottrente; deinde portus de Liche, deinde portus de Brandiz, deinde portus de Monople, deinde portus Sancti Nicholai de Bar, deinde portus de Trane, deinde portus de Barlet, deinde portus de Sipunt, deinde portus de Bestie, deinde portus de Tremule, qui est ultimus portus de Apulia. Deinde est Ortona, quæ est primus portus de terra Venetiæ; deinde portus de Acre, deinde portus de Bescare, deinde portus de Acune, deinde portus de Ravenne, deinde est Venetia civitas nobilis et portus bonus. (Hoveden, 405. a. 47.)

Ports of Venice, Ortona, Atri, Pescara, Ancona, Ravenna.

Philip asks leave to cross Apulia.

Sequitur; rex Franciæ moram fecit in insula de Cuverfu, et misit nuncios suos ad Tancredum regem Siciliæ habendi licentiam transeundi per terram suam, et ibi exspectavit reditum nunciorum suorum quos miserat ad regem Tancredum. (Hoveden, 405. a. 54.)

April 10. Clement III. dies.

[1] Interim eodem anno, quarta feria ante Cœnam Domini, scilicet quarto idus Aprilis, eodem die quo rex Angliæ recessit cum navigio suo a civitate Messana versus terram Jerusalem, dominus papa Clemens Tertius obiit: cui successit in papatum per communem cardinalium electionem Jacinctus cardinalis, natione Romanus; et in die Paschæ consecratus est, et vocatus est Cœlestinus papa tertius. Et ipse in crastino consecrationis suæ, scilicet feria secunda in hebdomada Paschæ, coronavit Romæ Henricum regem Allemannorum in imperatorem Romanorum, et Constantiam uxorem suam in imperatricem. (Hoveden, 392. b. 2.)

Celestine III. succeeds.

He crowns Henry VI.

Henry VI. besieges Salerno and takes it.

[2] Novus itaque imperator ille, magno congregato exercitu, intravit terram Tancredi regis Siciliæ, et ipse cum uxore sua obsedit Salernum civitatem magnam; et infra quindecim dies reddita est ei et uxori suæ (Hoveden, 404. b. 55.)

[1] The account of the election of Celestine III. has been given above, p. 161, in nearly the same words. The date of Clement's death is given variously, Mar. 26, Mar. 28, Apr. 2, and Apr. 4. See Jaffé, 886.

[2] An abridgement of this paragraph is given by Hoveden as an appendix to the account of the family of Robert Guiscard, above.

Hoveden, 405. a. 3.

civitas illa, et ille dimittens ibi uxorem suam processit, et obsedit civitatem Neapolim. Ubi cum moram per sex septimanas fecisset, amisit fere totum exercitum suum ex corruptione aeris,[1] et ipse gravem incidit infirmitatem ita quod pene moreretur. Et videns quod ipse nihil posset proficere adversus civitatem illam, recessit inde, profectus ad civitatem suam quæ dicitur Melan. Quod cum Salernitani audissent, injecerunt manus in dominam suam Constantiam imperatricem, et tradiderunt eam Tancredo regi Siciliæ.

A.D. 1191. He besieges Naples. He is driven back by pestilence to Milan.

Hoveden, 398. b. 20, shorter.

Eodem anno Willelmus Eliensis episcopus et domini regis cancellarius et totius Angliæ justitiarius, qui jam uno anno ante obitum Clementis papæ exstiterat totius Angliæ legatus, Romam misit[2] ad Cœlestinum papam, et factus est iterum legatus ab eo totius Angliæ. Qui post festum Sancti Johannis Baptistæ magnum congregavit exercitum, et contra prohibitionem Johannis comitis Meretonii fratris regis, obsedit castellum Lincolniæ, et abstulit Girardo de Camvilla comitatum Lincolniæ, et tradidit illum Willelmo de Stuteville custodiendum.

Celestine III. renews the legation of the bishop of Ely. After midsummer he besieges Lincoln.

Hoveden, 398. b. 24, shorter.

Interim castellum de Notingham et castellum de Tikehil reddita sunt Johanni comiti fratri regis, qui post redditionem castellorum illorum mandavit cancellario quod nisi ille celerius recessisset cum exercitu suo a castello Lincolniæ quod obsederat, et permisisset præfatum Gerardum castellum illud et vicecomitatum suum pacifice possidere, ipse eum visitaret in virga ferrea, et cum exercitu magno, cui ille resistere non valeret. Exterritus itaque cancellarius mandatis Johannis comitis, recessit inde cum exercitu suo, et reconciliatione fidelitatem juravit prædicto comiti Johanni, et quod ipse redderet ei omnia castella Angliæ, si frater suus Ricardus rex non rediret de peregrinatione sua, et si

John takes the castles of Nottingham and Tickhill, and relieves Lincoln. The chancellor makes peace with John.

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[1] This pestilence took place in the month of August. *Godefr. Mon.* (*ap. Freher.* i. 357).

[2] The date of the renewal of Longchamp's legation is uncertain. See *Epp. Cantuar.* p. lxxxiii. note 1.

A.D. 1191. fo. 175 r°. Peace between John and the chancellor.

ille decesserit sine prole.[1] Et fecit omnes comites et primates regni jurare eidem Johanni fidelitates sicut hæredi regni, si rex sine prole decesserit.

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[1] There are four accounts of these transactions, from the harmonizing of which the true chronology of the year may be arrived at. (1) The text, which is very short, and contains no documents. (2) Hoveden, who is equally brief in narration, but gives a copy of a final agreement between John and Longchamp. (3) Richard of Devizes, who is more satisfactory, but whose dates are inconsistent with one another, and his final agreement altogether different from Hoveden's. (4) William of Newburgh. From the last it appears that Longchamp's proceedings against Lincoln took place early in the spring, before the death of pope Clement III. was known, or the archbishop of Rouen landed; and that on the news of the pope's death, Longchamp made a truce with John. Clement III. died about the end of March, and the news of his death would reach England about three weeks later. The truce would then be made about the end of April. Now the final agreement given by Richard of Devizes bears date April 25, at Winchester, and is without doubt the document drawn up on the occasion of the truce mentioned by William of Newburgh; but Richard gives it as if it were concluded at a second conference at Winchester on the 28th of July. On the 27th of April the archbishop of Rouen landed; and both parties were again in arms about midsummer. This campaign was concluded, according to Newburgh, by a second treaty between John and Longchamp. This was probably the result of the conference dated by Richard of Devizes July 28, and was embodied in the document given by Hoveden. We thus get the dates, First siege of Lincoln, and capture of Nottingham and Tickhill, over before the middle of April. First peace of Winchester, in which arrangements were made for an arbitration, and John was recognized as the heir of England, April 25. Arrival of the archbishop of Rouen with fresh commission and instructions, April 27. Resumption of hostilities, second siege of Lincoln, &c., after June 24. Second peace of Winchester, in which the arrangements about the castles were completed, and in which there is no recognition of John as the heir, July 28. Sir Francis Palgrave (*Introd. to Rolls of Curia Regis*, i. p. lv) supposes that both acts were drawn up at the same time. But this is disproved, (1) by the inconsistency of the dates of R. of Devizes; (2) by the fact that the treaty of April 25 is provisional, and that given by Hoveden is final; (3) that the treaty ascribed by R. Devizes to April 25 contains no mention of the archbishop of Rouen, whilst in the one given by Hoveden he occupies, as the representative of the king, the most important part in the negotiations. This theory, I think, obviates all difficulties, and only requires that for the treaty of July 28, Hoveden's copy should be substituted in R. of Devizes for the one he has given, which is really

Eodem anno Gaufridus Eboracensis electus nuncios suos Romam misit ad Cœlestinum papam, et gratiam invenit in conspectu ejus, adeo quod electionem suam ratam habuit, et eam confirmavit, et pallium ei misit, et mandavit Willelmo[1] Turonensium archiepiscopo, ut illum consecraret, et ita factum est. Præterea idem papa Cœlestinus mandavit Hugoni Dunelmensi episcopo, et in vi obedientiæ præcepit,[2] ut ipse professionem et obedientiam canonicam faceret prædicto Gaufrido Eboracensi archiepiscopo, non obstantibus litteris quas a Clemente papa prædecessore suo impetravit de absolutione: et si id facere secundum mandatum apostolicum vel differret vel nollet, idem papa in mandatis dederat prædicto Eboracensi archiepiscopo ut ipse illum canonica severitate compelleret ad id faciendum ei et ecclesiæ Eboracensi.

A.D. 1191. Geoffrey is confirmed by the pope, and consecrated by the archbishop of Tours. The pope orders Hugh of Durham to make his profession to Geoffrey.

Sciens ergo Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus gravamen quod prædictus Gaufridus, dum adhuc esset electus, illi in curia Romana perquirere nitebatur, ad sedem apostolicam appellavit de suspecto gravamine, et personam suam et ecclesiam Dunelmensem, et omnes ecclesias ad eam pertinentes, cum personis et capellanis, et clericis, posuit sub protectione domini papæ et Romanæ ecclesiæ. Cum autem prædictus archiepiscopus consecratus esset, idem Dunelmensis episcopus iterum appellavit ad summum pontificem in eadem forma.

Hugh appeals to the pope against this order.

Hoveden, 399. a. 34.

Consecratus itaque Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepi-

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that of April 25, as it is dated, although given under July 28. Probably the writer supposed the latter treaty to be only a renewal of the former; and it is evident that the writer of the text supposed that homage was done to John as the heir at the final treaty, shortly before the return of Geoffrey.

[1] *Willelmo*] Bartholomæo. Geoffrey was consecrated at S. Martin's, Tours, Aug. 18, 1191, by Bartholomew, archbishop of Tours, Henry of Bayeux, and six or seven other bishops. R. de Diceto, 663.

[2] The letter of pope Celestine to Geoffrey, in which he lays this command on bishop Hugh, is dated May 11, 1191; it is printed in the *Monasticon*, vi. 1188. Hoveden, who seems to write rather in Hugh's interest, does not mention this.

A.D. 1191. August. Geoffrey is forbidden to land in England, by the chancellor.

scopus ad ecclesiam suam ire festinavit, cumque ad Witsand venisset ad transfretandum in Angliam, prohibitum est ei ex parte Willelmi Eliensis episcopi, domini regis cancellarii et totius Angliæ justitiarii, ne in Angliam contra sacramentum quod regi fecerat venire præsumeret;[1] sed Eboracensis archiepiscopus noluit parere prohibitioni justitiarii Angliæ; unde idem justitiarius præcepit eum comprehendi, et arctius custodiri, si ipse in Angliam applicuisset. Hoveden, 399. a. 34.

September. The archbishop persists in landing at Dover, and makes his way to a monastery.

Nec tamen Eboracensis archiepiscopus a proposito suo flecti potuit, sed, quam citius potuit, per consilium et mandatum Johannis comitis Meretonii fratris ejus, venit in Angliam et applicuit apud Duvere mense Septembris,[2] et servientes prædicti justitiarii Angliæ irruerunt ut eum caperent; sed ille inde præmunitus, antequam de navi exiret mutavit vestes, et ascenso equo in cujus velocitate confidebat, ad monachorum cœnobium ejusdem villæ confugit: et erat quasi hora diei sexta, et monachi missam jam inchoaverant. Et cum legeretur epistola, et perventum esset ad locum in quo per beatum apostolum dicitur, "qui conturbat "vos portabit judicium suum, quicunque est ille," et alibi in eadem epistola, "utinam et abscidantur qui vos conturbant;" intravit archiepiscopus ecclesiam confidens in Domino, et pro munere gratum habebat prænosticum illud, referens illud ad perpetuam beatitudinis vitam, et cancellarii venturam confusionem. Hoveden, 399. a. 38. Gal. v. 10.

He is besieged in church by the chancellor's men.

Ministri autem cancellarii quos ipse miserat, ut comprehenderent illum, obsederunt ecclesiam in qua ille erat, per circuitum, ita quod ipse exire inde non poterat nisi per manus illorum. Quadam vero die[3] Hoveden, 399. a. 48.

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[1] The chancellor's prohibition addressed to the sheriff of Sussex, forbidding him to suffer Geoffrey to land, is dated at Preston, July 30. Gir. Camb. (*Angl. Sacr.* ii. 390); R. de Diceto, 662.

[2] Sept. 14. R. de Diceto, 663; Gervase, 1576.

[3] Geoffrey was arrested on the 18th of September. R. de Diceto, 663; Gerv. 1576.

Hoveden, 399. a. 51. post celebrationem missæ, dum adhuc idem archiepiscopus indutus sacerdotalibus vestibus staret ad altare, funesti satellites illi intraverunt ecclesiam, et manus violentas injecerunt in eum et extraxerunt extra ecclesiam, et sic extractum, immo distractum, viliter et ignominiose duxerunt per lutum platearum et per vicos. Populus autem stabat clamans, "O ignavi! "quare ita ducitis eum? quid mali fecit? dimittite "eum, dimittite! archiepiscopus et sacerdos est, et "regis filius et frater regis." A.D. 1191. (Sept. 18.) He is arrested at the altar.

Hoveden, 399. b. 1. Satellites vero non exaudientes vocem populi duxerunt eum ad castellum de Dovere, et tradiderunt eum Mathæo de Clere constabulario, ad custodiendum. He is imprisoned in Dover castle.

Hoveden, 399. b. 3, much shorter. Quod cum Johanni comiti fratri ejusdem archiepiscopi Eboracensis nunciatum esset, quæsivit a cancellario, si per eum hæc facta fuissent. Cui ille respondit, "Per me quidem hæc facta sunt. Archiepiscopus "enim ille, contra sacramentum quod fecerat regi "fratri suo, in Angliam venit, et ideo eum cepi." Johannes vero comes iterum mandavit cancellario quod dimisisset fratrem suum archiepiscopum Eboracensem libere abire; sub juramento affirmans quod nisi ille dimiserit eum celerius abire, ipse liberaret eum in manu potenti et brachio extenso. John commands the chancellor to release Geoffrey. fo. 175 vo.

Auditis itaque minis comitis Johannis, cancellarius non erat ausus eum diutius retinere, sed permisit eum abire.[1] Gaufridus itaque archiepiscopus Eboracensis, cum exiret a carcere venit Lundonias, et conquestus Hoveden, 399. b. 5. est comiti Johanni fratri suo, et archiepiscopo Rotomagensi, et universis episcopis Angliæ, de injuria quam cancellarius ei intulit. (Sept. 26.) The chancellor releases Geoffrey, who complains to John and the bishops.

Et cum idem cancellarius id emendare noluisset, prædictus archiepiscopus et sex episcopi cum illo sen-

[1] On the eighth day after his capture, that is, the 26th of September, (R. de Diceto, 663,) he was led back to S. Martin's, and on the third day after, Sept. 28, set out for London. Gervase, 1577. He was received at London, in S. Paul's, by the bishop, on the 2nd of October. R. de Diceto, 663.

A.D. 1191. (Oct. 6.) The bishops excommunicate the chancellor.

tentiam excommunicationis tulerunt in cancellarium, et publice denunciaverunt eum excommunicatum. Johannes vero comes, et justitiarii quos rex in recessu suo eidem cancellario associavit, et archiepiscopus Rothomagensis et omnes episcopi Angliæ, sæpius rogabant cancellarium et monebant et exhortabantur, ut ipse satisfaceret prænominato Eboracensi archiepiscopo, et Hugoni Dunelmensi episcopo, et Henrico filio ejus, de injuriis quas ipse fecit eis.

John summons him to meet him at Reading.

Hoveden, 399. b. 10, much shorter.

Quod cum ipse minime facere voluisset, Johannes frater regis et comes, et episcopi Angliæ statuerunt illi diem peremptorium[1] apud Redinges, ut ulterius sententia differri non posset, nisi ille ad illum diem, vel infra, satisfecerit Eboraci archiepiscopo, et Dunelmensi episcopo, et filio ejus, de injuriis quas ipse fecit illis. Ante diem vero statutum venerunt illuc prædictus comes Johannes et episcopi Angliæ, et ibidem per tres dies moram fecerunt exspectantes de die in diem adventum cancellarii, qui nec ad eos venire voluit nec nuncium mittere, sed moram faciens apud Windeshoveres, parvipendens illos et minas eorum. Cumque prædictus comes et archiepiscopus Rothomagensis et episcopi Angliæ, qui convenerant apud Radinges, vidissent quod cancellarius nec ad eos venire voluit nec nuncium mittere, Lundonias[2] ire properarunt.

The chancellor fails to attend the meeting, and stays at Windsor. John returns to London.

The chancellor hurries after him, and a skirmish takes place between their servants.

Hoveden, 399. b. 17.

Quod cum cancellario nunciatum esset, et ipse Lundonias ire festinavit. Et dum iter facerent, contigit quod familia cancellarii et familia comitis Johannis obviaverunt sibi; et congressum facientes pugnaverunt acriter, et familia cancellarii interfecit quendam militem Johannis comitis, nomine Rogerum de Planis. Et dum præliarentur, familia comitis Johannis prævaluit

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[1] The summons is for Oct. 5, at the bridge of Lodene, near Reading. R. de Diceto, 663. The solemn excommunication took place on Sunday the 6th (Ib. 664). On the Monday John went to Staines to meet the chancellor, who fled to London. Gir. Camb. 394, 395.

[2] On the Monday, Oct. 7th. R. de Diceto, 664; Gir. Camb. 397.

Hoveden, 399. b. 21, shorter. adversus familiam cancellarii; et jam cancellarius cancellatus fugit loricatus et Lundonias venit. Sed inclusit se in turri Lundoniarum cum suis, sed pauca invenit in ea quæ sufficerent sibi et hominibus suis ad manducandum. A.D. 1191. Oct. 7. The chancellor shuts himself up in the Tower.

Hoveden, 399. b. 23. Et Johannes comes et fere omnes episcopi et comites et barones Angliæ sequentes illum, eadem die, scilicet tertia die post octavas Sancti Michaelis, intraverunt Lundonias, et in crastino[1] prædictus Johannes comes et archiepiscopus Rothomagensis, et omnes episcopi et comites et barones, et cives Lundoniæ cum illis, convenerunt in atrio ecclesiæ Sancti Pauli, et accusabant cancellarium in multis, et præcipue in injuriis quas fecit archiepiscopo Eboracensi, et Dunelmensi episcopo, et Henrico filio ejus. Socii autem prædicti cancellarii quos rex associaverat ei in regimine regni, accusabant eum in multis, dicentes, [ut] dixerunt, quod ipse omnia sine illorum consilio et assensu faciebat. John arrives in London, Oct. 7. Oct. 8. Meeting at S. Paul's to accuse the chancellor. fo. 176 r°.

Hoveden, 399. b. 31, with variations. Archiepiscopus vero Rothomagensis et Willelmus Marescallus comes de Strugul tunc primum ostenderunt coram populo litteras regis sigillatas, per quas dominus rex mandavit a Messana, quod si cancellarius stultum quid fecerit quod esset in detrimentum regis et regni, prædictus archiepiscopus Rothomagensis loco illius institueretur; et quod præfatus Willelmus Mariscallus, et Gaufridus filius Petri, et præfati justitiarii, scilicet Hugo Bardolf et Willelmus Bruere, quos rex in recessu suo associaverat cancellario, prædicto archiepiscopo Rothomagensi associarentur in regimine regni. The archbishop of Rouen and William Marshall exhibit their commission, to supersede the chancellor.

Hoveden, 399. b. 38, with variations. Placuit ergo Johanni fratri regis, et omnibus episcopis, et comitibus ac baronibus, et civibus Lundoniarum, quod cancellarius ille deponeretur a regimine regni; et quod loco illius fungeretur Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, sicut rex in litteris suis mandavit.[2] Ita factum The barons determine to depose the chancellor from the justiciarship.

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[1] Tuesday, Oct. 8th. R. de Diceto, 664; Gir. Camb. 398.

[2] See above, p. 157, note. R. de Diceto, 659; Gir. Camb. 396.

A.D. 1191. Oct. 8. The bishops and barons confirm the liberties of the citizens of London, who recognize John as successor to the crown.

Hoveden, 399. b. 42, with variations.

est ad securitatem regni. Johannes comes frater regis et archiepiscopus Rothomagensis, et omnes episcopi, comites et barones regni qui aderant, concesserunt civibus Lundoniarum communam suam, et juraverunt quod ipsi eam et dignitates civitatis Lundoniarum custodirent illibatas, quamdiu regi placuerit. Et cives Lundoniarum et episcopi et comites et barones juraverunt fidelitates regi Ricardo, et Johanni comiti de Meretone fratri ejus salva fidelitate, et quod illum in dominum suum et regem reciperent, si rex sine prole decesserit.

Oct. 9. The chancellor swears to resign the castles, and gives up the Tower and Windsor.

Hoveden, 399. b. 50.

Cancellarius vero cancellatus et ita depositus[1] juravit quod redderet comiti Johanni castella Angliæ; et statim reddidit ei turrim Lundoniarum, et castellum de Windeshovere, et alia quædam sed non omnia.

Joy of all men at his fall.

Gavisi sunt homines regni de abjectione cancellarii. Ipse enim illos male tractaverat, et omnes tam clericos quam laicos injustis vexationibus aggravaverat. Auctoritate namque legationis suæ ad episcopos, et abbatias et prioratus, et ad alias religiosorum domus hospitaturus veniebat, in tanta superfluitate hominum et equorum et canum et avium, quod domus in qua una nocte hospitabatur, vix infra annos tres subsequentes in pristinum statum redire posset. Clericis vero et laicis ecclesias ac terras, prædia et possessiones suas abstulit; quas aut nepotibus suis et clericis et servientibus erogabat, aut damnabiliter retinebat, aut in usus extraordinarios dilapidabat. Infelix ille, quare non cogitabat quod quanto quis altiora appetit, tanto magis ad inferiora descendit, si ignoraverit mensuram suam? Et cur non consideravit quod ille moriturus esset, et quod negatum est summis stare diu; et quod quanto gradus sit altior, tanto lapsus est gravior? Et quare non cogitabat infelix ille quod cum in ultimo

Lucan, Phars. i. 70.

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[1] On the Wednesday. Gir. Camb. 398. The same day the chancellor was compelled to give hostages for the surrender of the castles. On Thursday the 10th he was deposed from the justiciarship.

examine omnes astabunt ante tribunal Summi Judicis, Dominus ab unoquoque suæ villicationis rationem aut sui principatus honorem requiret? A.D. 1191. October.

Quid plura? Cancellarius ille de abjectione sua confusus[1] transfretare proposuit, et accedens ad Dovere, novum transfretandi modum invenit. Depositis namque masculorum vestimentis, fœminarum indumentis se induit, quarum sexum semper odit; et sic ad littus accedens transfretare voluit. Sed comperta malitia sua, quædam mulieres injecerunt manus in eum et male tractaverunt. Unde Hugo de Nonant, Coventrensis sive Cestrensis episcopus, in hac forma scripsit. fo. 176 v°.

The chancellor comes to Dover, and tries to escape in a woman's dress.

Epistola Hugonis de Nunant.

Hoveden, 400. a. 1.

"Quæ litterarum apicibus adnotantur, posteritati profecto "signantur, ut pagina paucorum testatione roborata multorum "consulat saluti vel prospiciat indemnitati. Quod proponitur "fit quasi in exemplum. Multa enim scribuntur ad cautelam, "ut fiant; et multa scribuntur ad cautelam, ne fieri debeant, "ut in ecclesia Christi in utraque proficiat, et cum appetenda inquirit, et cum fugienda qui declinat. Casum itaque "Eliensis episcopi ad notitiam omnium litteris instantibus "volumus in posterum consignari, ut in hoc exemplari semper inveniat et humilitas quod prosperet, et superbia "quod formidet. Erat enim ille vir magnus inter omnes "occidentales, utpote qui regni potestatem et sedis apostolicæ auctoritatem quasi ambidextera habebat, et regis "sigillum super omnem terram gestabat, ut pro sua voluntate posset impetrare, et de potestate valeret omnia affectu "mancipare, ut pariter rex et sacerdos haberetur[2] et esset; "nec inveniri posset qui suæ auderet resistere voluntati.
Ps. xxxvi. 9. "Quoniam ipse dixit et facta sunt, mandavit et inventa

Letter of Hugh of Nunant on the case of the bishop of Ely.

His numerous offices, and great power and arrogance.

[1] On Friday, the 11th of October, the chancellor fled to Dover, (Gir. Camb. 399,) proceeding as far as Bermondsey on the way, (R. de Diceto, 665); and on Saturday he was conducted to Dover by the bishop of Rochester and the sheriff of Kent. On the Thursday following he was arrested and brought back; on the 29th of October finally left England, and landed in Normandy. Diceto, 664. Giraldus, however, places his arrest on Saturday the 12th.

[2] *haberetur*] alerentur, B.

A.D. 1191. October.

His luxury.

Hoveden, 400. a. 18.

" sunt universa. Hujus erant regiæ gazæ, thesaurus totus " et fiscus generaliter omnis, ut jam non regis sed sua dice- " retur res quælibet, quæ sub climate nostro nataret. Quia " nec venatio in terris, nec piscatio in aqua, nec volatus " [erat] in aere, qui suæ non cogerentur mensæ servire: ut " partitus videretur fuisse elementa cum Deo, cœlum tantum " cœli Domino relinquens, cætera tria suis usibus sed " abusibus et lusibus profutura reservans. Huic omnes filii " nobilium serviebant vultu demisso, nec in cœlum aspicere " audebant, nisi forte ab eo vocati; et si aliter attentassent " aculeo pungebantur quem dominus præ manibus habebat, " memor piæ recordationis avi sui, qui servilis conditionis in " pago Belvacensi, et aratrum ducere et boves castigare " consueverat. Qui tandem ad remedium libertatis ad fines " Normannorum transvolavit. Hujus nepotes et consanguineas " sive quascunque propinquas de paupere tugurio procreatas, " comites et barones regnique magnates sibi summa aviditate " in matrimonium copulare ardebant, gloriosum reputantes " quocunque titulo familiaritatis ejus gratiam adquisissent; " nec erat rusticus qui agrum, nec civis qui fundum, nec " miles qui prædium, nec clericus qui ecclesiam, nec mona- " chus qui abbatiam affectaret, quem in jus et potestatem ejus " transire non oporteret. Licet enim flexo genu tota Anglia " ei deserviret, ad Francorum tamen libertatem semper aspi- " rans, [apud] Oximum[1] milites deservientes omnemque suam " familiam abstrahebat, et spreta in omnibus gente Anglorum, " stipatus agmine Francorum et Flandrensium pompatice " incedebat, subsannationem in naribus, cachinnum in ore, " derisum in oculis, supercilium in fronte gestans pro lamina " sacerdotis. Hic ad augmentum et famam sui nominis " emendicata carmina et rhythmos adulatorios comparabat, " et de regno Francorum cantores et joculatores muneribus " allexerat, ut de illo canerent in plateis; et jam dicebatur " ubique quod non erat talis in orbe. Et revera si tempus " Cæsaris fuisset, se Deum vivum cum Tiberio[2] appellari fecis- " set. Cum autem rex ei comites addidisset ut communi " consilio saltem majora ordinaret, regni consortem nequa- " quam habere sustinuit, quia gloriæ suæ plurimum crede- " ret dedecorari, si cujusquam mortalis consilio indigeret. " Solus ergo regnabat et solus imperabat, et a mari usque " ad mare timebatur ut Deus, et si plus dicerem, non men- " tirer; quia Deus longanimis est et misericors, ipse autem

His grandfather was a serf in the Beauvaisis.

The chancellor has aggrandized his family by marriages.

He favours the French, and despises the English.

His flatterers.

fo. 177 r°.

His contempt of his colleagues.

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[1] *Oximum*] Oxonium, H. | [2] *Tiberio*] Liberio, B. H.

Hoveden, 400. a. 47. " in impetu malo cuncta ministrans, nec in faciendo justitiam " habere nec in sustinendo moram potuit exspectare. Hic " etiam domini sui litteras omnes et mandata spernebat, ne " dominum habere videretur, ne cuiquam subesse crederetur, " qui omnes quasi servos suæ fecerat voluntatis. Cum igitur " Anglia sub tam gravi onere et jugo importabili diutius " laborasset, ingemiscens tandem propter opera, clamavit in " fortitudine, et ascendit clamor ejus ad Dominum, et respexit " eam Oriens ex alto, Qui superborum et sublimium colla " propria virtute conculcat, et humiles exaltat in magnitudine " brachii Sui. Sol nempe justitiæ, licet bonis luceat et malis, " tamen alta sapientium oculos excæcat, et mentes humilium " Sui luminis illustratione fœcundat. Licet igitur cancellarius " ille fortiter legisset, summis stare diu negatur, et 'qui stat " 'videat ne cadat,' et, 'qui se exaltat humiliabitur,' et, quia " ante ruinam exaltatur cor: tamen humanæ conditionis, quæ " nunquam in eodem statu permanet, et oblitus volubilitatis " rotæ quæ infimum erigit, et elevatum deprimere consuevit: " nunquam tamen voluit intelligere ut bene ageret, sed ini- " quitatem meditans in cubili suo, ubi cum ministris nequitiæ " et pueris suis dormiebat, in conclavi apposuit iniquitatem " super iniquitatem, ut propter superbiam et abusiones suas, " digno Dei judicio seipsum præcipitaret in potentias Do- " mini, ut jam non esset locus misericordiæ, sed soli potes- " tati, nec esset tempus miserendi ejus vel parcendi. In se " enim dictavit sententiam, adversum se exasperavit vindic- " tam, qui tantum facinus affectavit, in quo non hominis " tantum sed Dei magis iracundiam provocavit. Licet enim " Dominus omnia possit, innocentem tamen condemnare non " potest, nec nocentem salvare nisi parcat, si forte nocens " fuerit obstinatus. Menti enim obstinatæ et fronti meretricis " durities opponitur veri adamantis ut conterat. Quia nihil " tam forte est quod fortiori non cedit. Cum igitur homo " tantus ab homine non posset superari, Pater misericordiarum " et Deus totius consolationis venit in adjutorium populo Suo " supplicanti, et in affectum ejus manum misericordiæ sup- " ponens, dejecit illum a potestate, et accusatorem, immo " destructorem, in eum spiritum vertiginis induxit, a quo " reverti non posset vel resurgere: sed ita induravit cor, ex- " cæcavit mentem, infatuavit consilium illius, quod archiepi- " scopum Eboracensem in ecclesia prius obsedit, postmodum " cepit, captum violenter extraxit, abstractum fortiter vinxit, " vinctum turpiter traxit, tractum incarceravit. Et licet con- " cursus populorum fieret dicentium, 'Justus homo et amicus " 'Dei, quid fecit ut ducatur ad carcerem, et innocens san- " 'guis ejus sine causa damnatur?' Tamen non potuit audiri

Margin notes (left): S. Luke i. 78. — Lucan, Phars. i. 70. — 1 Cor. x. 12. — S. Luke. xiv. 11. — Prov. xvi. 18. — Ps. xxxvi. 5. — 2 Cor. i. 3.

Margin notes (right): A.D. 1191. October. He contemned the king's commands. — His wickedness provoked the judgment of God against him. — He arrested the archbishop of York in church.

A.D. 1191. October. The archbishop, with his pall, the son of Henry II. and brother of the king, was arrested to the indignation of all.

"pietas ubi superbia regnabat, nec auditus est Deus, ubi "imperabat tyrannus. Veniebat enim a partibus Normanniæ "archiepiscopus ille præfatus cum baculo pastorali, cum "mitra et annulo et superhumerali, quod novis temporibus "pallium nuncupatur. Et cum [esset] filius regis Henrici bonæ "recordationis, et frater regis modo regnantis, frater quoque "comitis Meretonii Johannis, nihil tamen ei potuit prodesse "regius sanguis. Cumque esset noviter consecratus, nihil "eum potuit juvare novitas sacramenti. Ergo per totam "insulam a laicis publice proclamatur, 'Pereat qui cuncta "'perdere festinat, opprimatur ne omnes opprimat; quia si "'in viridi hæc fecit, in arido quid faceret?' Et ecce, "Spiritu Sancto ducente, ab aquilone et mari, et ex omni "parte insulæ totius, concurrunt et confluunt universi, ut "archiepiscopus ille posset liberari. Verum funiculis pecca-"torum suorum ipsum constringentibus cancellarium, et con-"scientia sua cum vehementius accusante, fugit loricatus a "facie hominum, et se abscondit et inclusit cum hominibus "suis in turre Lundoniarum. Nobis autem introeuntibus "civitatem in sero, plures de familia ejus armati cum gladiis "exsertis nos invaserunt, et nobilem de nostris militem inter-"fecerunt et plures vulneraverunt. Mane ergo habito con-"silio cum omnibus fere magnatibus regni, præsente domino "Johanne fratre regis et Rothomagensi et Eboracensi archi-"episcopis, episcopis etiam præsentibus Dunelmensi, Lun-"doniensi, Wintoniensi, Bathoniensi, Rofensi, Norwicensi, "Lincolniensi, Herefordensi, Menevensi, Coventrensi: facto-"que consilio coram omni populo totius civitatis; præsentibus "quoque justitiariis domini regis et approbantibus, de con-"silio universorum statuimus, ne talis de cætero in regno "dominetur, per quem ecclesia Dei ad ignominiam et popu-"lus ad inopiam esset redactus. Ut enim cætera omittam, "ipse et garciones sui totum regnum exhauserant, nec viro "balteum nec fœminæ monile remanserat, nec annulus nobili, "nec quodlibet pretiosum alicui etiam Judæo. Thesaurum "quoque regis exinaniverat prorsus, ut in omnibus scriniis "vel sacellis nihil præter claves de toto isto biennio posset "inveniri. Tertia autem die promisit firmiter, et per quen-"dam de suis fidem dedit corporaliter, cunctis videntibus, "quod insulam non exiret donec castella quædam, quæ in "manu sua habebat, et advenis et ignotis personis et ob-"scuris tradiderat, quæ ibi nominata fuerunt, libera penitus "resignasset et personis nominatis tradi fecisset. Super quo "et fratres suos et camerarium suum obsides dedit, et Can-"tuariam properavit, ut ibi sicut decebat crucem acciperet "peregrinationis, et deponeret crucem legationis, quam per

Hoveden, 400. b. 25.

The chancellor in alarm fled to London.

Council of the barons against him.

Charges of extortion against him.

On the third day he promised to surrender the castles that he held; and went to Canterbury.

Hoveden, 401. a. 1.

"annum et dimidium anni, post mortem papæ Clementis in "præjudicium Romanæ ecclesiæ et detrimentum Anglicanæ "portaverat. Omnes enim ecclesias Angliæ crux illa redemit, "id est, ad redemptionem coegit. Nec fuit aliquis immunis "qui crucis illius stigmata non sentiret; et si forte alicujus "episcopi domum intraret, ab eo scire poteritis, quod centum "vel ducentarum marcarum pretio sua constitit procuratio. "Cum autem in castello Doroberniæ aliquot diebus com-"moratus fuisset, immemor suæ professionis et fidei obliga-"tionis quam fecerat, oblitus etiam fratrum suorum quos "obsides datos morti turpiter exponebat, navigare proposuit. "Et cum hoc aperte non auderet, novum genus fraudis in-"venit, et sese fœminam simulavit, cujus sexum semper "odit, vestemque sacerdotis in habitum convertit meretricis. "Proh dolor! Vir factus est fœmina, cancellarius cancel-"laria, sacerdos meretrix, episcopus scurra. Ergo de castello "superiori licet claudus esset, pedibus præelegit properare "ad littus, tunica fœminea viridi et enormiter longa, pro "tunica sacerdotis hyacinthina indutus: cappam habens ejus-"dem coloris deformiter manicatam pro planeta, peplum in "capite pro mitra; pannum lineum in manu sinistra quasi "ad vendendum, pro maniplo; virgam venditoris in dextera, "pro baculo pastorali. Talibus ornatus antistes descendit ad "mare: et qui loricam militis sæpius gestare solebat, mira "res quod tam effœminati animi factus, animum fœmineum "præelegit. Cum enim sederet in littore supra petram, "piscator quidam, qui statim deputans scortum propius ac-"cessit; et qui quasi nudus de mari descenderat calefieri "cupiens, cucurrit ad monstrum, et manu sinistra collum "complectens, dextra partes inferiores rimatur. Cumque "tunicam subito sublevasset, et nimis inverecunde ad partes "verecundas manum extendisset audacter, femoralia sensit et "virum in fœmina certis argumentis agnovit: et vehementer "admirans, retro prosiliens totus attonitus, voce magna pro-"clamat, 'Venite omnes et videte mirabilia, quia in fœmina "'inveni virum.' Protenus servientes ejus et noti qui sta-"bant a longe accesserunt, et modesta quadam violentia eum "repulerunt et increpaverunt ut taceret: tacuit ergo piscator "et clamor ille quievit, et sedebat Hermaphroditus exspec-"tans. Interim mulier quædam exiens de villa, videns pan-"num lineum quem ille vel illa gestabat, expositum vendi-"tioni; et procedens cœpit inquirere quanti esset pretii et "pro quanto ulnam daret? Ille non respondebat quia lin-"guam Anglicanam prorsus ignorabat. At illa magis insta-"bat; et continuo supervenit alia mulier, illud idem instanter "inquirens et plurimum instans ut ei pretium venditionis

A.D. 1191. October. He held his legation unlawfully.

He determined to escape from Dover.

He dressed himself as a woman. fo. 178 r°.

His adventure on the beach.

He could not speak English

A.D. 1191. October.

"aperiret. Cumque ille nihil responderet sed magis sub- "rideret, cœperunt interesse et fabulari et quærere quidnam "esset. Et dolum arbitrantes projecerunt manus ad peplum "quo facies tegebatur, et submittentes a naso usque deorsum "viderunt faciem hominis nigram et noviter rasam. Stupes- "cere cœperunt ultra modum, et corruentes eum ad terram, "voces ad sidera tollunt, dicentes, 'Venite lapidemus hoc "'monstrum qui deformavit utrumque sexum.' Et facta est "statim multitudo virorum ac mulierum extrahentium de "capite peplum et trahentium eum prostratum in terram per "manicas et caputium, per arenam ignominiose, et per saxa "non sine læsione. Servientes autem sui bis aut ter im- "petum fecerunt in turbam ut eum liberarent; sed non "potuerunt, quia totus populus eum insatiabili corde per- "sequens, et verbis et alapis et sputis, pluribusque modis "turpiter tractavit per totam villam; et sic tractatum, immo "distractum, in quodam cellario tenebroso eum quasi sub "carcerali custodia inclusit. Tractus est igitur qui traxerat; "captus est qui vi ceperat; ligatus est qui ligaverat; incar- "ceratus qui incarceraverat; ut secundum quantitatem culpæ "commensurabilis videretur quantitas pœnæ. Factus est "igitur opprobrium vicinis suis valde, et timor notis suis, "et datus est in derisum omni populo. Utinam se solum "sacerdotem, et non ipsum sacerdotium inquinasset. Pro- "videat ergo ecclesia Romana, ut tantus excessus taliter "puniatur, ne delictum unius contaminet omnes, et sacer- "dotalis auctoritas non vilescat. Et rex Angliæ nihilominus "prospiciat, ut talem regno suo personam præficiat, per "quam regalis dignitas honoris servetur, et juris sui detri- "menta non sentiat: sed de ejus regimine clerus et populus "merito debeant gloriari."[1]

Hoveden, 401. a. 34.

He is discovered and mobbed.

His servants are unable to rescue him, and he is put in prison.

Let the pope and king employ fitter ministers in future.

fo. 178 vº.

After eight days' imprisonment he is released, and goes to Flanders (Oct. 29).

Post octo vero dies Johannes frater regis comes Meretonii præcepit illum liberari a carcere, et dedit illi licentiam transfretandi. Et abiens transfretavit in Flandriam;[2] et cum iter ageret, quidam de terra illa injecerunt manus in eum et in homines suos, quibus ipse injuriam fecerat cum esset justitiarius in Anglia, et tenuerunt donec ille satisfecit eis. Et procedens inde venit Parisius, et dedit Mauricio[3] episcopo sexa-

Hoveden, 402. a. 7.

[1] Hoveden has here a letter of Peter of Blois to Hugh of Nunant in defence of William Longchamp.

[2] "apud Wissand," add. Hoveden.

[3] Maurice of Sully, bishop of Paris, 1160—1196.

Hoveden, 402. a. 12. ginta marcas argenti, pro eo quod ipse eum recepit ibidem in metropolitana ecclesia cum sollemni processione. A.D. 1191. November. He is received at Paris with a procession.

Hoveden, 402. a. 13. Deinde rediit Normanniam, sed per mandatum Rothomagensis archiepiscopi, habebatur pro excommunicato: et omnis locus in quo ipse venit in archiepiscopatu Rothomagensi cessavit a Divino officio, quamdiu ipse ibi moram fecit. He is treated in Normandy as excommunicated. At ille nuncios suos misit ad Cœlestinum papam, et ad dominum suum regem Angliæ, significans eis qualiter Johannes comes Meretonii et complices ejus ejecerunt eum a regno, et deposuerant eum a regimine regni quod rex illi tradiderat in recessu suo. He complains to the king and the pope. Et conquerens sibi de vindicta, restitutionem ablatorum petebat, offerens se juri pariturum, et quod si domino regi factum ejus et expensæ non placuissent, ipse in omnibus satisfaceret voluntati ejus. Unde summus pontifex ad iracundiam provocatus, universis archiepiscopis et episcopis Angliæ in hac forma scripsit.

Epistola Cœlestini papæ.

Hoveden, 402. a. 27. "Cœlestinus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus "fratribus archiepiscopis [et] episcopis, in regno Angliæ constitutis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Dec. 2. Letter of Celestine III. in behalf of the chancellor. Cum dilectus in Christo filius noster Ricardus, illustris rex Anglorum, "quando se suscepto signo crucis ad ulciscendam injuriam "Redemptoris accinxit, tutelæ regni sui, quod, sicut vir intelligens et requirens Deum, curas duxit obsequio postponendum, sub apostolica protectione dimiserit; statum regni sui "ac jura et honorem ipsius tanto majori studio conservare "volumus et debemus, quanto de nostra protectione confisus, "majoribus periculis personam suam et res, pro exaltatione "sanctæ religionis exposuit, et in obsequio Creatoris laudabilius, Ps. lxxxvi. 17. faciente Domino cum eo signum in bonum, atque "ferventius, sicut ex suis operibus elucescit, cognoscitur se "habere. Quoniam igitur quidam tam contra regnum ipsum "quam contra venerabilem patrem vestrum, Willelmum Eliensem episcopum, apostolicæ sedis legatum, cui regnum tradidit gubernandum, per Johannem comitem Meretonii et "quosdam alios, accepimus attentata, quæ nonnulla in se "suspicionis continent argumenta; et si vera sunt non in He has heard of the outrage committed on the legate.

A.D. 1191. Dec. 2.

"modicam noscuntur sedis apostolicæ contumeliam redundare; eidem præsumptioni tanto maturius duximus occurrendum, quanto ex mora ipsa jam dicto regi et Jerosolimitanæ Terræ gravius detrimentum, ac nobis cum ecclesiæ Romanæ major inde posset ignominia provenire. Proinde universitati vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus, et in virtute obedientiæ præcipimus, quatenus si, prout nobis insonuit, memoratus comes vel alius in jam dictum episcopum manus violentas injicere, vel eum capere, vel juramentum quodlibet ab eo per violentiam extorquere, seu eum in captione tenere, seu statum regni a serenitate regia in recessu suo dispositum aliquatenus immutare, vel præsumpserit, vel præsumpsit; omni dilatione vel simultate postposita, convenientes in unum, prædictum comitem et omnes antedictæ præsumptionis consiliarios, auctores, complices et fautores, accensis candelis et pulsatis campanis, omni appellatione et excusatione, nec non et personarum acceptione postpositis, publice nuncietis vinculo excommunicationis astrictos; et tamdiu faciatis sicut excommunicatos ab omnibus arctius evitari; nec non et in terris eorum, et in aliis quas invaserint, præter pœnitentias et parvulorum baptismata, Divina penitus, sine appellationis obstaculo prohibeatis celebrari officia; donec jam dicto legato, tam a captione quam a juramento primitus absoluto, et regno ipso in statum a prænominato rege in recessu suo dispositum reformato, cum testimonio litterarum ipsius legati et vestrarum pariter, ad sedem veniant apostolicam absolvendi: sciturі pro certo quod si in hujus nostri executione præcepti negligentes fueritis aut remissi, non minorem in vos, præstante Domino, duximus ultionem, quam si prædicta injuria personæ nostræ vel uni de fratribus nostris esset irrogata. Datum Laterani, quarto nonas Decembris, pontificatus nostri anno primo."

Hoveden, 402. a. 40.

He commands the bishops to excommunicate the offenders if the story is true;

fo. 179 r°.

and to put an interdict on their lands until amends are made to the legate.

Auctoritate igitur litterarum istarum summi pontificis, prædictus Willelmus Eliensis episcopus, domini regis cancellarius et apostolicæ sedis legatus, in hac forma scripsit Hugoni Lincolniensi episcopo:

Hoveden, 402. b. 8.

The chancellor writes to the bishop of Lincoln.

"Willelmus, Dei gratia Eliensis episcopus et apostolicæ sedis legatus, et domini regis cancellarius, venerabili fratri et amico carissimo Hugoni eadem gratia Lincolniensi episcopo, salutem et sinceræ dilectionis affectum. Quanto de dilectione vestra pleniorem fiduciam tenemus, majorem et constantiam in vobis invenimus, tanto confidentius discretioni vestræ et ecclesiæ Dei negotia et domini regis et nostra committimus exsequenda: confidentes in Domino de

Hoveden, 402. b. 10.

Hoveden, 402. b. 15.

A.D. 1191.

"vobis, quod præceptis apostolicis et nostris vestra caritas "pontificaliter respondebit. Mandamus igitur vobis, et in vir"tute obedientiæ, et ea qua fungimur auctoritate præcipimus, "quatenus ad exsequendum mandatum apostolicum universis "archiepiscopis et episcopis Angliæ destinatum, cum cæteris "fratribus nostris omnibus vel quibusdam cito conveniatis, "ne diutius in ecclesiam Dei et sacerdotes ejus laicalium "iniquitas malignetur, ne tergiversatione vel dissimulatione "aliqua, illorum malitia vobis debeat imputari. Ea vero quæ "dominus papa mandavit de persona Johannis comitis Mere"tonii, temperavimus, differentes usque Dominicam qua can"tatur 'Esto mihi;' ne si forte resipiscere vellet interim, "nos inde gratias redderemus, et pro eo in conspectu domini "papæ et domini regis Angliæ athletæ Crucifixi, preces fun"deremus affectuosas, ut delicti sui veniam mereretur, et "modis omnibus honori et commodo ejus, salva fidelitate "domini regis et honestate sacerdotii nostri, operam adhi"beremus et diligentiam efficacem. In terris autem excom"municatorum nulla Divina celebrari permittatis, præter bap"tisma parvulorum et pœnitentias. Nomina autem eorum qui "a domino papa excommunicati sunt, et a nobis denunciata, "quorum factum ita evidentia facti notorium sit quod nulla "possunt tergiversatione inficiari, hæc sunt:

He commands him to assemble the bishops to execute the pope's mandate.

He defers the excommunication of John until February 16, 1192; but orders the excommunication of his other enemies.

fo. 179 v°.

Names of the persons who are to be excommunicated.

"Walterus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus:
"Godefridus Wintoniensis episcopus,
"Hugo Coventrensis episcopus,
"Willelmus Mariscallus,
"Gaufridus filius Petri,
"Willelmus Briewere,
"Hugo Bardolf,
"Ricardus Malebise, et Hugo frater ejus,
"Jacobus et Symon, et filii Symonis,
"Symon de Averenches,
"Rogerus filius Ramfrai, et Gillebertus, et Ramfrai "filii ejus,
"Girardus de Camvilla,
"Comes de Saresbiri,
"Johannes Marescal,
"Comes de Mellent,
"Gillebertus Basset,
"Thomas Basset,
"Henricus de Ver,[1]
"Gosselinus filius Ramfrai,

[1] Henry de Vere had suffered greatly from the hostility of the chancellor. R. de Dic. 664.

A.D. 1191.

He excommunicates Stephen Ridel, and Benedict the usurper of the king's seal: also John archdeacon of Oxford, and Hugh bishop of Coventry. He excepts Hugh Bardolf, conditionally.

"Stephanus Ridel, cancellarius comitis Meretonii, quem ut "episcopus et ejus legatus vobis denunciamus excommunica"tum; et magistrum Benedictum,[1] qui sigillum domini regis "contra statuta regni et contra prohibitionem nostram ferre "præsumit. Et Johannem Oxoniensem archidiaconum.[2] Ad "hæc vero vobis specialiter et districte præcipimus, quod "Hugonem Coventrensem episcopum, quem sollemniter ex"communicavimus, non solum quia verbo et opere episcopum "diffitetur, et quia in manu piæ recordationis Baldewini "Cantuariensis archiepiscopi fidem corporaliter præstitit de "comitatibus non tenendis; verum quia totius subversationis "regni Angliæ consulator existit manifestus et auctor; et "turbator pacis, et contra regiam dignitatem et utilitatem "publicus advocatus,—publice denuncietis excommunicatum, "et faciatis ab omnibus arctius devitari, ne de cætero ovis "tam morbida gregem Domini valeat inficere et maculare. "Hugonem vero Bardolf, qui ad præsens non fuit in ejectione "et captione nostra, a prædicta denunciatione excipimus, ut "statim admonitus Willelmo de Stutevilla resigna[verit] cas"tella de Scardeburc, et de tota Everwicsire, et de Westmere"lande quæ detinet occupata. Prohibeatis etiam universis in "nostra diocesi constitutis, sub interminatione anathematis, "ne pro illis qui se in Anglia justitiarios gerunt, aliquid "faciant, nec in aliquo violentæ et usurpatæ obediant potes"tati. Vale." Hoveden, 402. b. 37.

Item litteræ ejusdem Eliensis episcopi ad Hugonem Lincolniensem episcopum.

The chancellor's letter to Hugh bishop of Lincoln, to seize the possessions of John archdeacon of Oxford.

"Willelmus Dei gratia Eliensis episcopus, apostolicæ sedis "legatus et domini regis cancellarius, Hugoni eadem gratia "Lincolniensi episcopo, venerabili fratri et amico, salutem. "Ea qua fungimur auctoritate vobis mandamus, et in virtute "obedientiæ præcipimus, quod archidiaconatum[3] et omnes "redditus Johannis Oxenefordensis archidiaconi, in manu ves"tra saisiatis, et recipiatis et conservetis, donec apostolicum "aut nostrum mandatum inde acceperitis. Quoniam cum "avunculo Rotomagensi archiepiscopo, Pilato, pacem et tran"quillitatem regni Angliæ perturbat, et malum quodcunque Hoveden, 403. a. 1.

[1] Probably Benedict of Sansetum, afterwards made bishop of Rochester, in 1215. He has been confounded with Benedict abbot of Peterborough, who is thus sometimes placed in the list of chancellors. See also Epp. Cantuar. 331.

[2] John of Coutances, dean of Rouen, afterwards bishop of Worcester, 1196–1198.

[3] *archidiaconatum*] archidiaconum, B.

Hoveden, 403. a. 8. "potest domino regi et regno, tanquam hostis regni, et nobis "perquirit: unde auctoritate domini papæ, illum excommuni-"cationis vinculo innodavimus. Vale." A.D. 1191. December.

Hoveden, 403. a. 9. Similiter Eliensis episcopus prædictus scripsit aliis quibusdam episcopis Angliæ in quibus habebat fiduciam, sed nullus eorum exsecutus est mandatum domini papæ nec suum. Non enim habebant eum pro legato neque pro regis cancellario. Sed præfatus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus et cæteri justitiarii domini regis dissesiaverunt eum ab episcopatu suo, et redditus illius ad opus regis collegerunt, propter thesauros regis quos ipse adnihilaverat.

The bishops decline to execute the mandate, and the justiciars seize the property of the see of Ely.

fo. 180 r°.

Interim Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus in communi audientia episcoporum Angliæ appellavit ad dominum papam contra Gaufridum Eboracensem archiepiscopum, et seipsum et episcopatum suum, et omnes redditus suos, et ecclesias cum personis et capellanis et clericis ad ecclesiam Dunelmensem pertinentes, posuit in protectione Dei et Romanæ ecclesiæ, et domini papæ, et iterum et secundo et tertio idem Dunelmensis episcopus appellavit ad summum pontificem contra Eboracensem archiepiscopum coram eodem archiepiscopo: et aliquando sine illo in Eboracensi ecclesia: et scriptum appellationis suæ et ratihabitionis suæ poni fecit super altare ecclesiæ Sancti Petri Eboraci. Sed archiepiscopus ille nulli detulit appellationi, immo postquam semel, et secundo et tertio citaverit[1] prænominatum Dunelmensem episcopum ut veniret ad metropolitanam ecclesiam Eboracensem ad faciendam sibi canonicam professionem, et ille venire noluisset, sententiam excommunicationis in eum tulit publice in ecclesia Sancti Petri Eboraci accensis candelis, et pulsatis campanis; tum quia Dunelmensis episcopus noluit facere

Hugh of Durham renews his appeals against archbishop Geoffrey.

Geoffrey summons him again, and at last excommunicates him.

[1] Hoveden gives a letter of Geoffrey to Hugh, in which he cites him to appear on the Monday after Michaelmas at York.

A.D. 1191. December. Demands of archbishop Geoffrey.

canonicam professionem ei sicut metropolitano suo, tum quia idem episcopus Dunelmensis jura ecclesiæ Eboraci, scilicet Le Rom-peni, et processiones hebdomadæ Pentecosten de ecclesiis Hoveden, et Hemmingeburg, et de Scipwith et de Brentingeham et de Kirkebi et de Homdeleie et de Alvertona et de Waldintona detinuit occupatas. At Dunelmensis episcopus sententiam quam Eboracensis archiepiscopus in illum dederat pro nulla habuit, nec illam tenere voluit; tum quia ipse consecratus fuit Romæ a summo pontifice, tum quia post appellationem suam ad dominum papam factam lata fuit in eum sententia illa.

Hugh treats his sentence as null.

December. The justiciars go to Canterbury for an election to the see.

Eodem anno mense Decembris, post festum Sancti Nicholai, Johannes frater regis comes Meretonii, et Walterus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, et quidam episcoporum Angliæ, convenerunt Cantuariæ in metropolitana ecclesia, ad eligendum eidem ecclesiæ archiepiscopum. Et facientes ibidem more solito cum monachis ejusdem ecclesiæ cum deliberatione sermonem; monachi illi inconsultis episcopis, immo contradicentibus, elegerunt Reginaldum Batoniensem episcopum sibi et ecclesiæ Cantuariensi in archiepiscopum. Et assumentes eum renitentem, et quadam modesta acclamatione contradicentem, tulerunt ad altare cum "Te Deum "laudamus;" et deinde fecerunt ei professionem canonicam et obedientiam. Archiepiscopus vero Rothomagensis qui tunc erat justitiarius Angliæ, saisiavit in manu regis omnes redditus Cantuariensis archiepiscopi; non enim electionem illam ratam habuit, et non permisit Cantuariensem electum quicquam recipere de redditibus archiepiscopatus Cantuariensis. Tamen ille Cantuariensis electus in ecclesiasticis causis audiendis et diffiniendis se sicut Cantuariensis ecclesiæ metropolitanum gerebat, et misit nuncios suos ad Cœlestinum papam pro confirmatione electionis suæ et pro pallio. Sed antequam nuncii sui illuc venissent, ille in quartadecima die electionis suæ obiit, in vigilia Natalis Do-

Reginald bishop of Bath is elected by the monks in opposition to the justiciars, who seize the revenues of the see.

Reginald dies.

mini, et sepultus est in ecclesia Batoniensi, pontificatus sui anno xviii°.[1] A.D. 1191. December.

Hoveden, 406. b. 48. Eodem anno Ricardus rex Angliæ, post reædificationem Jopen et Cæsareæ,[2] dedit utramque, scilicet Jopen cum comitatu suo et Cæsaream, Gaufrido de Lezeinan fratri Guidonis regis de Jerusalem.[3] fo. 180 v°. Richard rebuilds Joppa and Cæsarea. (September.)

Interim nuncii Philippi regis Franciæ moram facientis in insula de Coverfu ut supra dictum est, redierunt a Tancredo rege Siciliæ, cum licentia illius transeundi per terram suam. Philip having received permission from Tancred,

Hoveden, 405. b. 1. Qui statim galeas suas intravit, et applicuit in Apulia apud civitatem archiepiscopalem quæ dicitur Octrente, feria sexta, sexto[4] idus Octobris. lands at Otranto. Oct. 10.

Et recedens inde transitum fecit per civitatem episcopalem quæ dicitur La Liche; et per Brundusium civitatem archiepiscopalem, et per villam quæ dicitur La Petrole; et per Monople civitatem episcopalem, et per Bar civitatem archiepiscopalem, ubi requiescit sanctissimum et incorruptum corpus Sancti Nicholai Mireæ civitatis archiepiscopi; et per Trane civitatem archiepiscopalem, et per Barlet burgum bonum, et per Salpe civitatem episcopalem, et per villam quæ dicitur Sanctus Laurentius de Carminan; et per La Truie civitatem episcopalem, et per villam quæ dicitur Sanctus Luctredus: ibi deficit Apulia, et incipit Terra Laboris. He goes by Lecce, Brundusium, Monopoli, Bari, Trani, Barletta, Salpi, San Lorenzo, Troja, Sant' Eleuterio.

Et deinde transitum fecit per Beneventanum civitatem archiepiscopalem, ubi requiescit corpus Sancti Bar- He passes Benevento,

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[1] Reginald Fitz Jocelin was elected on the 27th of November; the election was accepted on the 2nd of December; died on the 26th, and was buried on the 29th.

[2] Joppa was repaired during the month of September. Richard reached the ruins on the 10th of September, and stayed there until the end of the month. He then encamped on the plain between Joppa and Ramlah, and repaired the Castle of the Plains, which is probably Yasour. Itiner. 289. The counties of Joppa and Ascalon were settled on Geoffrey of Lusignan before the departure of the king of France.

[3] Hoveden adds, "Deinde rex "Angliæ firmavit castellum des "Plains, et deinde firmavit cas- "tellum Maen." We learn from the Itinerarium that this employed the king from October 31 to about November 15, pp. 289, 290.

[4] *sexto*] The 10th of October fell on a Thursday.

A.D. 1191. October. Maddaloni, Capua, Calvi, Teano, Mignano, San Germano, Monte Cassino, out of the Terra di Lavoro;

tholomæi apostoli; et per Matelune civitatem episcopalem, et per Capuam civitatem archiepiscopalem, et per Calve civitatem episcopalem, et per Tyane civitatem episcopalem, et per Caian castellum, et per Mignan castellum, et per Sanctum Germanum villam bonam, quæ est sita ad pedem Montis Cassiæ. Cassia est mons magnus et excelsus, in cujus summitate est nobilis abbatia in qua requiescit corpus Sancti Benedicti, et ipsa est in terra imperatoris Romanorum. Et ad Sanctum Germanum qui est ad pedem montis Cassiæ, deficit Terra Laboris et incipit Campania.

Aquino, Frosinone, out of the Sicilian territory.

Deinde transitum fecit rex Franciæ per Aquinam civitatem episcopalem, deinde per Frisillum civitatem episcopalem, quæ est ultima civitas regis Siciliæ; et ibi deficit terra illius et incipit terra domini papæ.

He asks Henry VI. to grant him a passage through the Imperial States.

Et antequam rex Franciæ venisset, misit nuncios Hoveden, 405. b. 2.
suos ad Henricum Romanorum imperatorem; et accepta ab eo licentia transeundi per terram suam, juravit ei quod fidelitatem portaret ei de vita et membris et terreno honore, et quod auxilium nec fecit nec faceret regi Siciliæ contra eum.

He passes by Anagni and Montefortino to Rome.

Deinde transivit per Anagne civitatem episcopalem; deinde per Muntfortin castellum; deinde venit Romam. Ibi deficit Campania et incipit Tuscana.

Reception of Philip at Rome.

Cum autem Philippus rex Franciæ Romam venisset, Hoveden, 405. b. 8.
Cœlestinus papa recepit eum et suos cum summo honore et reverentia, exhibens ei et suis per octo dies, quicquid eis fuit necessarium in expensis. Et pro amore Dei et suo, novum fecit remedium peregrinis, quod illum et omnes qui cum illo venerant absolvit a voto et itinere peregrinationis Jerosolimitanæ, et non tantum illos sed etiam omnes qui post illum venerunt de Terra Jerusalem, quamvis votum non perfecissent, cum per illos non steterit: et dedit eis palmas et cruces.

Et ostendit regi Franciæ et suis, capita apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et Veronicam, id ist, pannum quendam linteum, quem Jesus Christus vultui Suo im-

pressit; in quo pressura illa ita manifeste apparet usque in hodiernum diem ac si vultus Jesu Christi ibi esset; et dicitur Veronica quia mulier cujus pannus erat dicebatur Veronica. A.D. 1191

Rex vero Franciæ, ut occultaret manifestam animi sui nequitiam, immemor sacramenti quod fecerat Ricardo regi Anglorum cum exiret de terra Jerusalem de pace et amore sibi servando, conquestus est de illo domino papæ et omnibus cardinalibus, dicens de illo multa inconvenientia; scilicet quod ille fugaverat eum a Terra Jerusalem, et quod ille noluit pro eo quicquam facere. Et petiit a summo pontifice licentiam vindicandi se de illo in Normannia et aliis terris suis. Sed summus pontifex sciens eum hoc dixisse sola invidiæ causa, nullam ei licentiam ad malum faciendum in terra regis Angliæ dare voluit; sed prohibuit sub anathemate ne ipse in eum vel in terram suam manum extenderet.[1]

Philip complains to the pope of Richard's treatment of him.

fo. 181 r°.

The pope forbids him to invade Richard's territory.

Discedens[2] itaque rex Franciæ a Roma, transitum fecit per castellum Sancti Petri; deinde per Sutre civitatem episcopalem; deinde per Biterve; deinde per Munt Flascun; deinde per Sanctam Christinam; deinde per Ekependante; deinde per Redecoc; deinde per La Briche; deinde per San Clerc; deinde per Bon Cuvent; deinde per Senes la Velle, civitatem episcopalem, deinde per la Marche castellum, deinde per Seint Michel castellum; deinde per castellum Florentin, et per Seint Denis de Bonrepast; et per Arle le Blanc, et per Arle le Nair; et per la Grasse Geline; et per le Hospital; et per Luchek, civitatem episcopalem; et per Munt Cheverol; et per Seint Leonard, et per Lune male-

Philip's journey home, by Sutri, Viterbo, Montefiascone, Santa Christina, Acquapendente, Radicofani, San Quirico, Buonconvento, Sienna, Castel Fiorentino, Lucca, Capriola, San Lionardo, Luna.

[1] Hoveden's account of Philip's visit to the pope is different, and ends with the following:—"Deinde " rex Franciæ effecit adversus Ro" manorum imperatorem quod ipse " regem Angliæ caperet, si per " terram suam transiret." The absence of any such story in the text is one of the indications of the date of the composition.

[2] Hoveden omits the rest of Philip's itinerary.

A.D. 1191. Sarzana, Villa Franca, Pontremoli, Monte Barduno,

dictam civitatem episcopalem; et per Sanctam Mariam de Sardena; et per Lealvile; et per Punt Tremble; et per Munt Bardun; et per Seint Beneit in monte Bardun; et per Seint Morant in Monte Bardun; ibi deficit Tuscana, et incipit Italia.

Cassio, Fornuovo, San Donnino, Fiorenzuola, Piacenza, Pavia, Mortara, Robbio, Vercelli, Maurienne, into France.

Deinde transivit per Cassem Milan; deinde per Furnos, et per Seint Domin, et per Florentin, et per Plesence, civitatem episcopalem, et per Papiam civitatem episcopalem; deinde per Morters; et per Roable; et per Werzeas civitatem episcopalem, deinde per vallem de Moriana, ita quod paulo ante Natale Domini venit in Franciam.

Proceedings of Richard in Palestine.

Interim[1] Ricardus rex Angliæ moram faciens in terra Jerusalem, in hebdomada proxima ante Natale Domini commisit prælium cum Saladino et gente sua in planitie Ramis, et prævaluit exercitus Christianorum: et Saladinus cum gente sua victus fugit, et Christiani fecerunt stragem magnam ex paganis. Deinde Ricardus rex Angliæ magnificus triumphator venit Jerosolimam, et pagani qui in ea erant, exierunt contra eum, et commiserunt cum eo prælium, et multi illorum

[1] This paragraph seems to contain the last rumours from the Crusade that reached England before the close of the chronicle, and not to represent any facts. There was certainly a battle shortly before Christmas (Itin. 302), but it was little more than a skirmish, and certainly was followed by no flight on Saladin's part. On the 15th of November Richard began to advance on Ramlah, Saladin retiring before him. He was at Ramlah 22 days, to December 8, during which time two skirmishes were fought, on November 25 and December 3. He retired into winter quarters on the 8th at Ramlah. On the 20th he narrowly escaped capture near Tel-es-Safih, and the same day Guy of Lusignan left for Acre. Saladin had retired into Jerusalem, either at the end of November or early in December; and the Crusaders continued quiet at Ramlah and in the neighbourhood until about December 31. They then advanced to Beit Nûba, in the full expectation of taking Jerusalem. There was another skirmish on the 3rd of January, and on the 13th they retreated; but Richard, as is well known, was never encamped within sight of Jerusalem. It would seem, then, that the report embodied in the text must have been one which left Palestine in the first week of January, whilst the army was still at Beit Nûba. Saladin was in Jerusalem at the time.

ceciderunt in prælio illo. Cæteri autem pagani fugientes a campo incluserunt se infra civitatem Jerusalem, et rex Angliæ obsedit eam per circuitum. Quarta die sequenti pagani, qui in civitate Jerusalem erant, videntes quod non haberent auxilium vel succursum a Saladino, obtulerunt regi Angliæ civitatem Jerusalem si ipse dedisset eis licentiam abeundi cum vita et membris, sed rex Angliæ noluit civitatem Jerusalem illa conditione recipere.[1] A.D. 1191. December. Proceedings of Richard in Palestine.

De Rosamunda.

Hoveden, 405. b. 18, shorter. Eodem anno, cum Hugo Lincolniensis episcopus peragrasset magnam partem episcopatus sui, faciens visitiones suas per domos virorum religiosorum diocesis suæ, et verba vitæ æternæ prædicans, venit ad abbatiam monialium de Godestoue, et ecclesiam intravit. Hugh of Lincoln visits Godstow. Ubi [cum] ante magnum altare prolixius orasset, vidit ibi sepulcrum quoddam ante altare panno serico coopertum, et cum lampadibus ardentibus cereos circumstantes, quod in magna habebatur reverentia a prædictis monialibus. He sees the tomb of Fair Rosamond. Et quæsivit a circumstantibus cujus esset sepulcrum illud, quod in tanta habebatur reverentia. Et dixerunt ei quod illud erat sepulcrum Rosæmundæ, quam Henricus rex Angliæ tantum dilexerat, fo. 181 v°. quod pro amore ejus domum illam, quæ prius erat

[1] Hoveden has not this passage, doubtless having written on later information as follows:—"Deinde "secunda die ante Natale Domini "perrexit rex Angliæ usque ad "Turonum des Chavaliers, et ibi "fuit in Natale Domini; et voluit "inde procedere post Natale Domini ad obsidendam civitatem "Jerosolimam; sed dux Burgundiæ et Franci noluerunt eum "sequi, dicentes quod rex Franciæ "dominus eorum prohibuit iis in "recessu suo ne ipsi ulterius mo"ram facerent in terra illa. Unde "oportebat regem Angliæ a pro"posito suo deficere, quia homines "et pecunia defecerunt ei;" 406 b. 50. Cf. Joinville, p. 172 (ed. Didot, Paris, 1859), and Itiner. R. R. 308. Hoveden gives another version of the same story further on, fo. 407. b. 21.

A.D. 1191. Henry II. was a benefactor of Godstow.

Hoveden, 405. b. 23. shorter.

pauper et mendicans multis et magnis redditibus ditaverat, et nobilibus ædificiis decoraverat, [ac] redditus magnos eidem ecclesiæ contulerat ad inveniendum [lumen] illud indeficiens circa sepulcrum illud.

Hugh orders the body of Rosamond to be removed from the church.

Hoveden, 405. b. 25.

Quibus episcopus ait, "Tollite eam hinc, quia scortum fuit, et amor ille qui inter regem et illam fuit "illicitus erat et adulterinus. Et sepelite eam cum "aliis mortuis extra ecclesiam, ne Christiana religio "vilescat;[1] et ut exemplo illius cæteræ mulieres exter- "ritæ caveant sibi ab illicitis [et] adulterinis concubi- "tibus." Et illæ fecerunt sicut præceperat eis episcopus, et tollentes eam sepelierunt extra ecclesiam.

The county of Flanders divided between Philip, Baldwin of Hainault, and the widow of the count.

Eodem anno, antequam Philippus rex Franciæ in terram suam venisset, Willelmus Remensis archiepiscopus avunculus ejus, et cæteri Francorum procuratores, quibus ipse in recessu suo regnum Franciæ custodiendum tradiderat, cum audissent quod Philippus comes Flandriæ esset mortuus, diviserunt comitatum Flandriæ inter dominum suum regem Franciæ, et filium comitis de Hainou, fratrem uxoris regis Franciæ defunctæ; et inter sororem Sanctii regis Portugalensis, quæ fuerat uxor Philippi comitis Flandriæ; ita quod unusquisque eorum habebat partem quæ illum de jure contingebat.

Roger the constable of Chester proposes to hang his officers for surrendering Tickhill and Nottingham to John.

Hoveden, 406. b. 11. very briefly

Eodem anno Rogerus[2] constabularius Cestriæ, filius Johannis, cui Willelmus Eliensis episcopus, dum esset totius Angliæ justitiarius, tradiderat castellum de Notingeham et castellum de Tikehil, in fidelitate regis custodienda, doluit vehementer quod servientes sui quibus ille prænominata castella tradiderat in custodia, scilicet Robertus de Crocstune, quem ipse fecerat constabularium de Notingeham, et Eudo de Daiville, quem fecerat constabularium de Tikehil, ita inconsulte et sine insulto tradidissent prænominata castella Johanni comiti Meretonii. Et apposuit ut comprehenderet illos,

[1] *vilescat*] inolescat, B.

[2] De Lacy.

sed illi inde præmuniti custodiebant se, male sibi conscii, et de venia desperantes juri stare noluerunt. Et ideo nomen proditoris in æternum non deficiet illis.

A.D. 1191. They refuse to stand their trial.

Hoveden, 406. b. 11, very briefly.

At prædictus Rogerus constabularius Cestriæ apprehendit Alanum de Lec, quem associaverat Robertus de Crokestona in custodia castelli de Notingham. Apprehendit et Petrum de Bouencurt, Normannigenam, quem ipse associaverat Eudoni de Daivilla in custodia castelli de Tikehil; et utrumque illorum suspendit in patibulo, licet prædictus Petrus de Bouencurt, statim post traditionem castelli de Tikehil, venisset Lundonias, in conspectu Johannis comitis Meretonii, et in curia regis, coram cancellario, voluisset innocentiam suam purgare: constanter affirmans quod castellum de Tikehil traditum fuit comiti Johanni contra voluntatem et prohibitionem suam; et quod si ipse habuisset socios qui essent unanimes ad defendendum illud contra comitem Meretonii, sicut ipse voluit, non esset traditum in manu illius. Cancellarius vero noluit purgationem inde ab eo recipere; sed remisit eum ad curiam constabularii Cestriæ, dicens illi, "Vade ad dominum "tuum constabularium, et in curia ejus purga inno-"centiam tuam a crimine quod ipse tibi imponit."

Roger hangs Alan of Leck and Peter de Bovencourt.

Peter de Bovencourt had offered to purge himself to the chancellor, who remitted him to his lord.

Qui cum illuc venisset cum litteris comitis Meretonii supplicantibus, obtulit se modis omnibus purgare innocentiam suam a crimine quod dominus suus ei imponebat; scilicet quod nec præcepit nec voluit nec in aliquo consensit quod castellum de Tikehil traderetur comiti Johanni; immo in quantum potuit prohibuit ne traderetur illi. At prædictus constabularius Cestriæ noluit inde recipere purgationem ab illo, sed sine judicio illum suspendit in patibulo cum catena ferrea. Deinde post triduum suspendit quendam armigerum suum, pro eo quod ipse abigebat aves a corpore illius pendentis in patibulo, quæ carnes ejus unguibus et rostris dilacerabant. Johannes autem comes Meretonii, in vindic-

John had interceded for him.

fo. 182 r°.

But Roger has him hanged in chains, and then hangs a squire for driving the birds from his body.

A.D. 1191. John disseizes the constable.

tam prædictorum suspensorum dissaisiavit prædictum constabularium Cestriæ de omni tenemento quod de illo tenuit, et terras suas devastavit.

A.D. 1188. March 13. Pope Clement III. writes to the king of Scotland, that the church of Scotland is immediately subject to the see of Rome. No one is to be legate in Scotland except directly from Rome; and no appeals are to be allowed outside the realm except in Rome.

Hoveden, 371. b. 1.

"Clemens episcopus, servus servorum Dei, carissimo in Christo "filio, Willelmo illustri regi Scottorum, salutem et apostoli-"cam benedictionem. Cum universi Christi jugo subjecti, "apud sedem apostolicam patrocinium invenire debeant, et "honorem, et favorem; illos tamen specialius convenit pro-"tectionis munimine confoveri, quorum fidem ac devotionem "in pluribus est experta, ut ad illius dilectionis favorem "tanto amplius provocentur, et ejus reverentiæ devotiori affec-"tione subdantur, quanto benevolentiæ ipsius et gratiæ pig-"nus se noverint certius assecutos. Eapropter, carissime "in Christo fili, reverentiam ac devotionem quam ad Roma-"nam te habuisse a longe retro temporibus ecclesiam novi-"mus, attendentes, præsentis scripti pagina duximus statuen-"dum ut Scotica ecclesia nisi apostolicæ sedi, cujus filia "spiritualis exsistit, nullo mediante debeat subjacere; in "qua hæ sedes episcopales esse noscuntur, ecclesiæ videlicet "Sancti Andreæ, Glascuensis, Dunkeldensis, Dumbinensis, "Breinensis, Aberdunensis, Moraviensis, Rosinensis, Cati-"nensis; et nemini liceat nisi Romano pontifici vel legato "ab ipsius latere destinato, in regnum Scotiæ interdicti vel "excommunicationis sententiam promulgare; et si promulgata "fuerit, decernimus non valere. Adjicimus ut nulli de cætero, "qui de regno Scotiæ non fuerit, nisi quem apostolica sedes "propter hoc de corpore suo specialiter destinaverit, licitum "sit in eo legationis officium exercere. Prohibemus autem, "ut contraversiones quæ fuerint in regno de possessionibus "ejus exortæ, ad examen extra regnum positorum judicum, "non trahantur, nisi ad Romanam ecclesiam fuerit appella-"tum. Si qua vero scripta contra hujus libertatis statutum "apparuerint impetrata, vel in posterum, istius concessionis "mentione non habita, contigerit impetrari; nullum tibi vel "ipsi regno circa hujus prærogativæ concessionem præjudi-"cium generetur. Præterea libertates et immunitates tibi "vel eidem regno, vel ecclesiis in eo constitutis, a prædeces-

[1] This letter, if written by Clement III., belongs to the year 1188, under which it is given by Hoveden, 371. b. But Hoveden gives it again verbatim under the year 1191, ascribing it to Celestine III.; with the same date "iii. id. Mart., pon-"tificatus nostri anno primo." As Celestine III. was not elected until March 30, 1191, the letter, if written by him, must belong to the year 1192.

Hoveden, 371. b. 27. "soribus nostris Romanis pontificibus indultas et hactenus "observatas, ratas habemus et illibatas futuris temporibus "statuimus permanere. Nulli ergo hominum liceat hanc "paginam nostræ constitutionis et prohibitionis infringere, "vel ei aliquatenus contraire; si quis autem hoc attentare "præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, et beatorum "apostolorum Petri et Pauli Ejus se noverit incursurum. "Datum tertio idus Martii."[1] A.D. 1188. March 13.

Hoveden, 407. b. 20. Anno ab Incarnatione Domini M°C°XC°II°., Ricardus rex Angliæ erat in terra Jerosolimitana apud Turomund, id est, Al Turun des Chevales, in ipso die Nativitatis Dominicæ; et Berengera filia regis Navaræ, regina Angliæ; et Johanna regina Siciliæ, soror ejusdem regis Ricardi, quæ fuerat uxor Willelmi regis Siciliæ; et filia Ysaac qui fuerat imperator insulæ de Cypre, erant in eodem die Nativitatis Dominicæ in terra Jerusalem, in custodia ejusdem regis Ricardi. A.D. 1191. Dec. 25. Richard spent Christmas at Latroon; the queens also were in Palestine.

Et Guido de Lezinan rex de Jerusalem, et magnus exercitus diversarum gentium Christianorum, cum illo erat.[2] fo. 182 v°. Guy also was with him.

Hoveden, 407. b. 14. Philippus autem rex Franciæ, qui a terra Jerusalem, ut supra dictum est, peregrinatione sua imperfecta recesserat, eodem die Nativitatis Domini fuit in Francia dominica terra sua, apud Funteine Blahaud, sanus et incolumis, et impudenter jactans se in proximo vastaturum terras regis Angliæ. Philip spent Christmas at Fontainebleau.

Hoveden, 407. b. 18. Et eodem Natali Domini, Alienor quondam regina Angliæ, mater prædicti regis Ricardi, fuit in Normannia.[3] Queen Eleanor was in Normandy.

Hoveden, 407. b. 17. Et eodem Natali Domini, Johannes comes Meretonii, frater prædicti regis Ricardi, fuit in Anglia apud Hoveden cum Hugone Dunelmensi episcopo, unde Gau- John was in England, at Howden with Hugh of Durham.

[1] "Datum Laterani, tertio idus "Martii, pontificatus nostri anno "primo." Hoveden.

[2] Guy left the head-quarters of the army at Ramlah for Acre on the 20th of December. Hoveden correctly omits the statement in the text. If Richard really spent Christmas at Latroon, he must have been in the most advanced quarter of the camp. Guy had been in command in the rear. *See* Itin. R. R. 298, 299.

[3] "Apud Boneville super Toke," Hoveden.

A.D. 1191. Dec. 25. fridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus illum, et omnes qui cum præfato episcopo Dunelmensi comederant, habuit pro excommunicatis. Sed ipsi tandem, pœnitentia ducti, ad satisfactionem venerunt, et ab ipso archiepiscopo absolvi meruerunt.

A.D. 1192. Jan. 20. Philip meets the steward of Normandy between Gisors and Tric, and demands his sister with Gisors, Aumâle, and Eu. Post Natale Domini Philippus rex Franciæ venit inter Gisorcium et Tric, in octavis Sancti Hilarii, ad colloquium inter illum et Willelmum filium Radulfi senescallum Normanniæ, et proceres Normanniæ, et ostendit illi chirographum conventionis factæ inter ipsum et regem Angliæ apud Messanam in Sicilia. Et secundum conventionis illius tenorem, ab eis petiit sibi reddi Alesiam sororem suam, quæ custodiebatur in turre Rothomagi; et petiit cum illa castellum Gisorcii cum omnibus appendiciis suis, et comitatum de Albemarlia et comitatum de Auca. Sed senescallus et proceres Normanniæ nihil horum quæ petebat, ei tradere voluerunt, dicentes se nullum mandatum recepisse inde a domino suo rege Angliæ. Unde rex Franciæ iratus, dixit quod ille potenter adquireret quæ illi facere sibi negabant; et multum comminabatur eis. The steward prepares to resist him. Senescallus autem et proceres Normanniæ castella sua munierunt. Hoveden, 408. b. 17, shorter.

Philip proposes to John to marry Alais, and seize his brother's dominions. Interim rex Franciæ videns quod in malitia sua procedere pro sua voluntate non posset, mandavit Johanni comiti Meretonii, fratri regis Angliæ, quod cum festinatione venisset in Francia locuturus cum eo: et ipse daret ei in conjugem Alesiam sororem suam, et faceret eum habere omnes terras Angliæ et Normanniæ cismarinas, si matrimonium fuerit contractum inter illum et prædictam sororem suam.

Eleanor goes to England, and with the justiciars forbids Quod [cum] Alienor reginæ constaret, omnibus postpositis, aliisque negotiis omissis, transfretavit de Normannia in Angliam,[1] et invenit Johannem filium suum

[1] She landed at Portsmouth Feb. 11. R. Devizes, p. 55. This writer adds that Eleanor held four councils, at Windsor, Oxford, London, and Winchester, before she could prevail on John to stay in England, p. 57.

comitem Meretonii, jam paratum transfretare de Anglia in Normanniam ad loquendum cum rege Franciæ. At mater ejus et Walterus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, et cæteri justitiarii Angliæ, prohibuerunt eum ex parte regis Angliæ et sua, ne ipse transfretasset; dicentes quod si ipse transfretasset, ipsi saisirent in manu regis omnes terras et castella sua. His igitur et aliis matris suæ monitis Johannes comes Meretonii acquievit; et postpositis regis Franciæ mandatis, propositum suum mutavit in melius.

A.D. 1192. February. John to go to France.

He obeys.

Hoveden, 408. b. 35.

Deinde Alienor mater regis, et fere omnes principes et magnates Angliæ, venerunt Lundonias, et juraverunt regi Angliæ et hæredi suo fidelitates contra omnes homines.

The barons swear allegiance to Richard.

Hoveden, 408. b. 23.

Cumque rex Franciæ vidisset quod Johannes comes Meretonii noluit venire ad eum, voluit Normanniam hostiliter invadere; sed milites regni sui noluerunt in hoc consentire, dicentes quod ipsi fierent perjuri si ipsi guerram fecissent in terram regis Angliæ, quamdiu esset in servitio Dei.

The French nobles refuse to invade Normandy.

fo. 183 r°.

Die autem Purificationis Beatæ Mariæ, prædictus Eboracensis archiepiscopus iterum excommunicavit Hugonem Dunelmensem episcopum, quia ei obedire noluit; similiter et omnes tam clericos quam laicos qui cum illo manducarent aut biberent, aut illi aliquid vendiderint, aut in domibus suis eum reciperent, aut aliquam communicationem cum eo haberent. Et in hunc modum fecit illum excommunicari, eodem die Purificationis, per omnes ecclesias diocesis suæ, in quibus potestatem habebat. Sed præfatus Dunelmensis episcopus in nullo detulit sententiæ illi; sed multa ut videbatur prosperitate gaudens, parabat se ad prosequendum appellationem suam quam ad summum pontificem fecerat, contra prædictum Eboracensem archiepiscopum.

Feb. 2. Archbishop Geoffrey excommunicates Hugh of Durham again.

Hugh contemns the sentence.

Et jam cum tempus proficiscendi instaret, regina Alienor et Rothomagensis archiepiscopus convocaverunt utrumque, scilicet Eboracensem archiepiscopum et

Eleanor summons the two to court.

A.D. 1192. March. Dunelmensem episcopum, ad audiendam, et, si posset, fine debito determinandam controversiam quæ vertebatur inter illos.

After March 15. Hugh offers to submit to arbitration.

Qui cum post medium Quadragesimæ venissent Lundonias, et ibidem coram prædictis regina, et Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, et fere totius Angliæ episcopis in unum congregatis, causas suas protendissent, Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus obtulit ponere se in examine præfatæ reginæ et archiepiscopi Rothomagensis et omnium episcoporum Angliæ, salvis privilegiis suis.

Geoffrey refuses unless Hugh will admit his sentence.

Sed archiepiscopus Eboracensis noluit ponere se in examine illorum, nisi Dunelmensis episcopus prius venisset ad limina beati Petri Eboracensis absolvendus ab eo, et in omnibus juri pariturus.

Hugh insists that Geoffrey shall acknowledge his sentence to be null.

Quod cum Dunelmensis episcopus audisset, dixit quod cum archiepiscopo Eboracensi pacem nullam faceret, nisi ille proprio ore suo confessus fuisset coram omni populo, et maxime in Eboracensi ecclesia, ubi sententiam excommunicationis in eo dederat, quod sententia illa nulla fuit nec teneri debuit. Sed Eboracensis archiepiscopus nec illud facere voluit nec dicere.

Geoffrey has his cross carried erect in London, in defiance of the bishops of the province of Canterbury.

Hoveden, 408. b. 26, shorter.

Præterea prædictus Eboracensis archiepiscopus prima die qua Lundonias venit, fecit portare ante se crucem suam a Novo Templo, in quo hospitatus erat, usque ad Westmonasterium: sed Ricardus Lundoniensis episcopus et cæteri Cantuariensis ecclesiæ suffraganei murmuraverunt inde adversus eum, et prohibuerunt illi, fo. 184 r°. ne amplius portasset eam in illa diocesi, dicentes quod si amplius portare præsumpsisset, illi eam frangerent: et in hoc quod eam jam portaverat habebant eum pro excommunicato: et jam eam fregissent nisi esset filius regis et regis frater, et adhuc novus archiepiscopus.

The bishop of London suspends the new Temple from divine service. Confusion of Geoffrey.

Prædictus vero Lundoniensis episcopus Novum Templum, in quo archiepiscopus hospitatus fuerat, a Divino suspendit officio et a campanarum sonitu. Unde ipse Eboracensis archiepiscopus dolens et confusus, citius inde recessit cruce sua non comportata.

Hoveden, 408. b. 38, shorter.

A.D. 1192. March. The chancellor having bribed John,

Interim Willelmus Eliensis episcopus, domini regis cancellarius et totius Angliæ legatus, confidens in auxilio reginæ Alienor et Johannis comitis Meretonii, utpote qui prædictæ reginæ multa dederat et se plura daturum promiserat, et qui prænominato Johanni quingenta millia[1] marcarum argenti promiserat pro auxilio suo habendo, et pro restitutione sua habenda in regimine regni Angliæ, sicut habebat in recessu regis Ricardi, venit in Angliam et applicuit apud Doveram, et mansit ibidem in castello Dorobernia, quod adhuc erat in custodia Mathæi de Clere sororii sui. Et misit Lundonias nuncios suos ad reginam et Johannem comitem, et archiepiscopum Rotomagensem, et ad alios justitiarios Angliæ; postulans sibi fieri restitutionem ablatorum, et offerens se paratum esse stare juri et regiæ voluntati in omnibus quæ adversus eum dicerent.

lands at Dover, and sends to London to demand restitution.

Hoveden, 408. b. 40, shorter.

The queen and John try to make peace between the chancellor and the barons.

Regina autem Alienor et Johannes filius ejus conabantur pluribus modis pacem facere inter illum et Rothomagensem archiepiscopum et cæteros regni magnates; et dicebant quod, sicut illi credebant, multum displiceret regi quod sic ille dejectus esset a regimine regni sine præcepto illius. Sed cum prædicta regina audisset a Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, et a cæteris regni Angliæ magnatibus, excessus et importunitates quas præfatus cancellarius in plebem Anglicam sibi commissam exercuerat, quievit. Et Johannes filius ejus comes Meretonii, acceptis a Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, et a cæteris justitiariis Angliæ, duobus millibus marcis argenti de thesauro regis fratris sui, consilio eorum adquievit: et una cum illis et Alienor regina mandavit supradicto Eliensi episcopo ne ille ulterius processisset; sed cum festinatione summa sicut vitam et membra dilexisset ab Anglia recedere properasset.

The barons bribe John to their side, and order the chancellor to quit the country.

Hoveden, 408. b. 43.

He leaves, April 3.

Cancellarius ergo ille fraudatus a desiderio suo, et

[1] *quingenta millia marcarum*] pro quingentis libris, Hoveden. Richard of Devizes gives a longer account of these transactions, adding that the justiciars bought off John by a fine of 500*l.* imposed on the chancellor.

A.D. 1192. April 3.

non ausus ibidem diutius moram facere, in Cœna Domini transfretavit, et applicuit apud Witsand, et multum comminatus est genti Angliæ. Hoveden 408. b. 43.

The chancellor goes to the king of France, fo. 184 v°. as rumour says, with treasonable intentions.

Et novissimus error hominis illius erat pejor priore. Ipse enim, ut dicebatur, statim postquam applicuerat, perrexit ad Philippum regem Franciæ, inimicum domini sui regis Angliæ, et familiariter cum eo moram faciens, multa machinatus est, ut dicebatur, in perniciem regis domini sui et regni.

Geoffrey gives the nunnery of S. Clement at York to Godstow.

Eodem anno Gaufridus Eboracensis dedit, et carta sua confirmavit, abbatiæ sanctimonialium de Godestoue, ecclesiam Sancti Clementis de Eboraco, quam Turstinus Eboracensis archiepiscopus fundavit in fundo suo, et sanctimoniales Deo in perpetuum servituras constituit in ea. Quæ cum ab ipsis fundamentis ecclesiæ libera exstitisset, et nulli domui esset subjecta, indignata est inde Alicia priorissa, et omnes sanctimoniales ejusdem ecclesiæ Sancti Clementis appellaverunt ad summum pontificem pro libertate ecclesiæ suæ tuenda. Hoveden, 408. b. 45, shorter.

The prioress of S. Clement's appeals to Rome, and Geoffrey excommunicates her.

Et præfata priorissa statim post appellationem iter arripuit ad summum pontificem. Sed Eboracensis archiepiscopus in nullo deferens appellationi earum, excommunicavit eas, quia noluerunt obedire domui de Godestoue, quæ est in episcopatu Lincolniæ, inter Oxenforde et Wdestoc.

Hugh of Durham persuades the pope to declare archbishop Geoffrey's sentence against him to be null.

Interim Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus frequenter misit nuncios suos ad Cœlestinum summum pontificem. Et licet papa et multi cardinalium causam Eboracensis archiepiscopi modis omnibus fovissent, tamen Dunelmensis episcopus tandem invenit gratiam apud papam, adeo quod ipse et universi cardinales judicaverunt sententiam anathematis quam Eboracensis archiepiscopus tulerat in episcopum Dunelmensem, nullam fuisse; tum quia idem episcopus fuerat Romæ consecratus a summo pontifice; tum quia sententia illa post appellationem factam in eum lata fuit, tum quia idem Dunelmensis episcopus ab octo vel pluribus papis privilegiatus fuit, quod nullus potens esset illum excom-

municare vel suspendere, nisi de speciali mandato summi pontificis; tum quia idem episcopus semel fecit canonicam obedientiam ecclesiæ Eboracensi et Rogero Eboracensi archiepiscopo et ejus successoribus. Dicebat enim Cœlestinus papa, sumens argumentum a majoribus, quod grave esset onus et importabile si oportuisset archiepiscopos et episcopos et cæteros ecclesiarum rectores semper reiterare professionem suam, quandocunque novus papa institueretur. Præterea idem papa Cœlestinus adjecit in mandatis suis quod præfatus Eboracensis archiepiscopus vel suspensionis vel excommunicationis sententiam proferendi in præfatum Dunelmensem episcopum nullam de cætero habeat potestatem. Hæc tamen sufficere non poterant Dunelmensi episcopo, sed remisit nuncios suos ad summum pontificem postulans ut ipse ex toto absolutus esset a jurisdictione Eboracensis archiepiscopi, quamdiu duo illi vixissent.

A.D. 1192. The pope pronounces that it is not necessary for the bishops to make a new profession to a new metropolitan.

Interim clerici quos Walterus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus Romam miserat post dejectionem Willelmi Eliensis episcopi, cum litteris suis et cum litteris episcoporum Angliæ missis contra prædictum Eliensem episcopum, in hac forma scripserunt domino suo Rothomagensi archiepiscopo.

The agents of the archbishop of Rouen send their report from Rome.

" *Epistola clericorum Rotomagens archiepiscopo.*

February.

Hoveden, 408. b. 50.

" Waltero Dei gratia Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, carissimo " domino et patri, clerici sui, salutem. Omittimus pericula " et labores quos in via sæpius nos oportuit sustinere, et " quod frequenter insidiis declinatis, tandem incidimus in " latrones, bonisque omnibus præter quosdam equos et lit- " teras, spoliati, sine omni viatico venimus in urbem sump- " tuosam tertio idus Februarii, apud beati Petri ecclesiam " curia commorante. Ibi invenimus cancellarii clericos jac- " tantes plurima, et multa, ut videbatur, prosperitate gau- " dentes. Nam plenæ legationis officio impetrato, jam sæpe " dominus papa et cardinalium quidam Eliensi episcopo cum " subscriptione legati suas epistolas dirigebant; et jam prin- " cipalibus legationis bullatis litteris inde nondum traditis, " sese recessui imminenti nuncii præcingebant. Etenim domi- " num papam ex toto pronum invenimus ut partes cancellarii

They arrived at Rome Feb. 11.

fo. 185 r°.

The pope had promised to renew the bishop of Ely's legation.

A.D. 1192. February. The pope was altogether on the chancellor's side. Hoveden, 409. a. 7.

"tueretur; et qui domino papæ familiarius assident et adhærent, ipsius negotia tanquam propria promovebant. Verum per Dei gratiam ad adventus nostri instantiam, litteræ sunt retentæ, quibusdam qui negotia vestra devotius respiciunt, sæpe et multum dicentibus non fuisse hactenus adeo necessariam vestrorum præsentiam nunciorum. Porro quando potuimus, audiendi copia impetrata, coram papa et cardinalibus universis litteras proposuimus a vobis et episcopis et prælatis, et justitiariis Angliæ destinatas, cum diligentia digna cætera adnectentes quæ intentioni vestræ credidimus expedire. Cum vero nuncii Eliensis episcopi attentassent objicere tam responsionibus quam objectis, dominus papa in vestri depressione negotii, plurima indignanter et cum amaritudine proponebat, multiplicatis inculcans sermonibus et affirmans, 'Scimus quod illustris rex 'Anglorum domino Eliensi regni sui totius administrationem reliquit, nec aliquem ei [parem] adhibuit, vel 'majorem. Litteras domini regis super eo vidimus, revocatorias aut contrarias non vidimus nec videmus, nec 'earum transcriptum sigillis appositis et authenticis consignatum. Sed multæ venerabiles personæ scribunt contra dominum cancellarium, et pro domino cancellario 'multarum recepimus venerabilium litteras personarum. 'Sed et litteræ quas vos portatis eorum sunt qui dominum 'cancellarium expulerunt; nec miramur admodum si pro 'se scribere videantur. Scimus quia dominus rex nulli 'unquam mortalium tantam dilectionem exhibuit vel honorem impendit, quantum domino Eliensi. Ipsum namque 'fecit episcopum venerandæ sedis et ditissimæ Eliensis; 'sed et cancellarium suum; sed et regnum Angliæ universum ejus solius custodiæ commendavit. Sed nec omnibus 'istis contentus esse potuit dominus rex, sed et pro legationis officio domino cancellario committendo, et bonæ 'recordationis domino Clementi et nobis etiam supplicavit. 'Vide quam tenere amabat eum! quem unquam hominum 'tantum diligit vel dilexit? Ad preces domini regis et instantiam multam præsentem legationem indulsimus domino 'Eliensi; ab homine quem tantum dilexerat regem tam 'subito tantam gratiam revocasse vix credere possumus, 'nisi litteras ejus et sigillum regium videremus. Et quod 'domino regi dedimus, puta legationem domini Eliensis, 'sine falsitatis nota nec suspendere possumus nec auferre. 'Sed et omnes Anglicani episcopi pro eodem legationis 'officio confirmando, mihi proprias litteras transmiserunt, 'et mihi unanimiter supplicantes pro eo cancellario commendationem plurimam porrexerunt; et modo [quod] con-

The pope's speech in favour of the chancellor.

He relies on Richard's regard for the chancellor.

fo. 185 v°.

Hoveden, 409. a. 37.

" 'trarium postulatur ab eis, suæ potius levitati imputandum A.D. 1192. February.
" 'videtur. Sed et dominus vester Rothomagensis archiepi-
" 'scopus nobis pro domino Eliensi plenas devotione litteras
" 'destinavit, cum pro ipso scripsisset, dum prosperis utere-
" 'tur, contra ipsum exilii calamitate oppressum, eos grave
" 'est exaudiri, cum contra eos scriptum sit,

He reproves the inconsistency and fickleness of the bishops.

" 'Donec eris felix multos numerabis amicos;
" 'Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris.'

" 'Porro cum pristina felicitate gauderet, et legationis vice
" 'apud vos fungeretur, quæ unquam ecclesia, quod monas-
" 'terium, quæ persona, quæ vulgaris aut nobilis, super eroga-
" 'tionibus domini Eliensis, vel ecclesiarum gravamine verbum
" 'ad nos miserat vel querelam? Omnes applaudebant felici,
" 'omnes murmurant in oppressum. Amici fortunæ fuerant,
" 'cum fortunæ gratia recedentes.' Hæc quidem et multa alia
" a domino papa opposita, qui superiorem non habet, et a
" pontifice summo et judice, et cujus voluntati nemo est qui
" resistat. Sed et multum contra nos quibusdam facere vide-
" batur, quod dominus rex in reversione vestra supplicavit pro
" vobis ut in Normanniæ partibus et cæteris transmarinis
" vobis legatio conferretur: unde prima facie nomini videbatur
" quod regiæ esset voluntatis, vos in Angliæ partibus admi-
" nistrationem habere; cum et Angliæ tutelam gerere, et
" legationis officium in Normanniam exercere, uni et eidem
" homini nec facile nec promptum videbatur. Sed et forma
" regiæ voluntatis, quæ pro vobis fuerat a rege cancellario
" destinata, senescallo Normanniæ a rege dicebatur transmissa,
" ut et ipse in Normanniæ partibus vestro consilio fungeretur:
" ad quæ et similia cum responsiones idoneas haberemus,
" tamen domini papæ favor et adjutorium in partem contrariam
" nitebatur. Verumtamen dubitare coactus, tum ad instantiam
" nostram tum cardinalium aliquorum quos in vestræ partis
" gratiam traxeramus, cardinalibus omnibus congregatis in
" unum, singulorum consilia requisivit, nostroque negotio, diu
" suspensis deliberationibus, agitato, suam dominus papa sedens
" pro tribunali [dedit] sententiam, sub hac forma; puta, ut
" breviter et summatim procedamus, et cancellarium a vestra
" et domini Rothomagensis decani denunciatione absolvit; et
" vice mutata sententiam Eliensis episcopi, quam occasione
" quarundam probabilium litterarum in vos tulerat, et deca-
" num, et alios quosdam cancellario odiosos, nullam fuisse
" judicavit. Porro dominus papa in sua procedens sententia,
" super injuria Eboracensi archiepiscopo irrogata, sine forma
" præscripta, cancellario purgationem indixit. Legationem
" autem nec ejus executionem ademit, cum jam ipsam ad

The king had asked for the legation in Normandy for the archbishop of Rouen, and that was held inconsistent with the nomination of justiciar of England.

The pope annuls the excommunications on both sides.

A.D. 1192. February.

He continues the legation of the chancellor, but forbids him to excommunicate the archbishop or the barons.

fo. 186 r°.

Hoveden, 409. b. 17.

"precum regiarum instantiam contulisset, et vobis etiam "supplicantibus cum pontificibus Angliæ universis. Eam "tamen legationem protulit exsequendam sub hac exceptione "adjecta, quod ipse interdictum vel suspensionis vel excom-"municationis sententiam proferendi, in vos, vel in decanum "Rothomagensem,[1] vel episcopos Angliæ vel justitiarios, vel "magnates, nullam habeat potestatem. Cujus interpretationem "sententiæ vos habituros confidimus utiliorem, verborum "faciem vobis in ipsis papæ litteris transmissuros. Sententiæ "vero prænominatæ adjecit, quod consilio cardinalium convo-"cato, nostroque adhibito, et nunciorum domini Eliensis, per-"sonas venerabiles in vestris partibus providebit, quibus me-"diantibus inter vos et dominum cancellarium possit pax et "concordia reformari, saltem quantum ad mutuum rancorem "animi remittendum. In hujus autem deliberationis tractatu "et prædictæ forma sententiæ, eas profecto credimus ex toto "litteras revocandas; quæ cum essent episcopis totius An-"gliæ destinatæ, tamen occasione ipsarum idem cancellarius "vos cum multis aliis excommunicationis vinculo denunciavit "astrictos. Super qua tamen denunciatione cum nos domino "papæ ad mandatum domini Rothomagensis decani propo-"suissemus querelam, palam in consistorio, coram cardinalibus "universis et populo, lectis eisdem litteris et inspectis, "quantum protestatus est voce coram omnibus exaltata, quod "nunquam prædictæ litteræ a conscientia ejus originem ha-"buerunt, cœtu cardinalium de se id idem cum admiratione "plurima proclamante. Et cum nuncii Eliensis episcopi papæ "instantissime reclamarent, nemini aurem propitiam vel fau-"tricem impendit. Valete."

He will send legates into England to mediate.

The pope disowns the letters published by the bishop of Ely,

The bishop of Ely's agents remonstrate with the pope for this.

Hoveden, 409. b. 38, shorter.

In nocte sequenti venerunt nuncii Eliensis episcopi ad dominum papam, et exprobantes illius inconstantiam dixerunt, "Nunquam putavimus ex ore vestro audisse "quod ita impudenter negaretis factum vestrum. "Nonne confirmastis sententiam excommunicationis "quam dominus Eliensis episcopus, devotus filius tuus, "et Romanæ ecclesiæ et vester, dedit in Rothoma-"gensem archiepiscopum et complices suos, qui in de-"jectionem illius unanimes exstiterant, et litteras ves-"tras archiepiscopis et episcopis Angliæ inde misistis? "Quid ergo in eum displicuit paternitati vestræ? "Aut quis vos seduxit, ut ita palam in consistorio,

[1] John of Coutances, archdeacon of Oxford.

coram universis cardinalibus et clero et populo dixeritis quod nunquam prædictæ litteræ a conscientia vestra originem duxerunt? Precamur ergo, domine, sanctitatem vestram, ut saltem, pro amore Dei et honore Romanæ ecclesiæ, reducatis ad memoriam servitia quæ vobis dominus noster Eliensis episcopus devote exhibuit; et ut testimonio veritatis opprobrium domini nostri et nostrum tollatur, ne inimici nostri de injusta condemnatione nostra hilarescant."

A.D. 1192. February. They entreat him to remember the services of the bishop, and not to place him under such a charge.

Hoveden, 409. b. 45, shorter.

His et aliis hujusmodi exhortationibus, clerici Eliensis episcopi adeo domini papæ animum in conatus suos allexerunt, quod in crastino idem papa, sedens pro tribunali, coram cardinalibus et clero et populo dixit, "Fratres mei, confiteor vobis me graviter peccasse in dominum Eliensem episcopum, et in clericos ejus. Recordatus enim sum quod litteræ illæ confirmationis nostræ super sententia excommunicationis quam dominus Eliensis dederat in comitem Meretoni et in Rothomagensem archiepiscopum et complices suos, qui eum violenter a regimine Angliæ dejecerunt, a conscientia nostra, et a voluntate emanaverunt: et eas adhuc ratas habemus, et eas præcipimus inviolabiliter observari, donec prædicti comes de Meretone et archiepiscopus Rothomagensis, et complices sui, ad condignam satisfactionem perveniant."

The pope confesses that he actually did issue the letters in question: and now ratifies them.

fo. 186 v°.

Interim nuncii quos Dunelmensis episcopus miserat contra Gaufridum Eboracensem archiepiscopum redierunt, portantes litteras summi pontificis in hac forma;[1]

The agents of the bishop of Durham return with letters from the pope.

"Cœlestinus [episcopus,] servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus Lincolniensi et Rofensi episcopis, et dilecto filio

[1] This letter is given by Hoveden under the year 1191, but as he refers to it as the result of a mission to Rome in consequence of the treatment of John, mentioned above, p. 236, it probably belongs to January or February 1192. The curia was at the Lateran from the middle of February to May in this year. Cf. Jaffé, 891. Hoveden adds, that the delegates sat at Northampton, and prorogued their session until July 1. The letter must, therefore, have been received early in the year. According to Gervase (1581) the final concord between Geoffrey and Hugh was made before the delegates at Northampton in October.

A.D. 1192. "[abbati] de Burgo, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. "Sicut ea quæ a venerabilibus fratribus coepiscopis nostris, "circumspectione provida et ratione prævida, statuuntur, debe- "mus illibata servare; ita quæ minus quandoque considerate "aguntur, providentia pleniori corrigere, et in statum debitum "nobis imminet reformare. Cum itaque venerabilis frater "Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, in venerabilem fratrem "nostrum Hugonem Dunelmensem episcopum, et quosdam "alios, excommunicationis sententiam promulgasset; et eorum "nunciis ad nostram præsentiam venientibus, in consistorio "nostro fuisset hinc inde super ea sententia, et quibusdam "aliis articulis plenarie disceptatum: nos cognoscentes tam "in ipsum quam in alios jaculatam sententiam inconsulte "fuisse prolatam, nullius causæ rationabilis munimine robo- "ratam, eam de consilio fratrum nostrorum denunciavimus "publice non tenere; irritantes eam, ne quid auctoritatis "habeat inhibentes. Ut itaque quod nos decrevimus per "partes vestras publice nuncietur, per apostolica scripta "vobis mandamus ut eandem sententiam per ecclesias vestras "prædictis auctoritate sedis apostolicæ irritatam; ut fidelium "populus tam ipsi episcopo quam aliis una cum ipso injuste "ligatis, fraternæ communionis participium secure impendat, "et ab illorum nullatenus propter hoc communione recedat. "Datum Laterani." Hoveden, 406. a. 30.

The pope annuls the excommunication of the bishop of Durham by the archbishop of York.

Two legates are sent into Normandy.

Dum autem hæc ita agerentur, dominus papa Cœlestinus misit a latere suo duos legatos cardinales in Normanniam, quorum unus dicebatur Octavianus Ostiensis episcopus, et alter Jordanus [abbas] de Fossa Nova ad titulum Sanctæ Anastasiæ presbyter cardinalis,[1] ad diruendam litem controversiæ, quæ erat inter Willelmum Eliensem episcopum et Walterum Rothomagensem archiepiscopum et quosdam alios. Hoveden, 410. a. 8, shorter.

The steward of Normandy refuses to admit them into Gisors.

Qui cum in Normanniam intrassent et venissent ad Gisorcium, milites castelli et burgenses clauserunt eis portas villæ per præceptum Willelmi filii Radulfi senescalli Normanniæ, et noluerunt illos intus recipere, dicentes quod dominus illorum Ricardus rex Angliæ nondum redierat de peregrinatione sua; et in recessu suo, cum se signo crucis accinxisset, omnes terras suas cismarinas et transmarinas sub protectione Dei et Ro- Hoveden, 410. a. 11, much shorter.

[1] Jordan was cardinal priest of S. Pudentiana.

manæ ecclesiæ et domini papæ posuerat; nec aliquem legatum in terra sua recipi præceperat; et ideo nolebant ipsi illos, neque alios hujusmodi viros recipere sine illius mandato. Cardinales vero hæc contra dicebant quod illi advenerunt portantes pacem et illuminantes patriam, dare pacem gentibus, et liberare populum Domini. Sed neque propter hoc neque propter illorum minas voluerunt prædicti milites vel burgenses illos recipere; immo cum gladiis et fustibus illos retroire coegerunt. Illi autem ibant gaudentes a conspectu populi, quoniam digni habiti sunt pro nomine Jesu contumeliam pati.

A.D. 1192. They are compelled to retire from Normandy.

fo. 187 r°.

Acts v. 41.

Hoveden, 410. a. 13, shorter.

Qui cum a Normannia exissent, Octavianus Ostiensis episcopus sententiam interdicti dedit in Normanniam; et excommunicavit prædictum senescallum Normanniæ et omnes complices suos et fautores, et consiliarios et auctores prædictæ præsumptionis. Jordanus vero de Fossa Nova dilexit regem Angliæ, et noluit sententiam dare in Normanniam nec quicquam molestiæ inferre: unde rex Franciæ iratus fugavit eum a regno suo.

The bishop of Ostia puts Normandy under an interdict.

Hoveden, 410. a. 15, shorter.

Quod cum nunciatum esset in Anglia Alienor reginæ et Johanni filio suo comiti Meretonii, et Waltero Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, summo totius Angliæ justitiario, et aliis ejusdem regni justitiariis, miserunt in Normanniam ad illos Hugonem Dunelmensem episcopum, ut per illius industriam sententia quæ illata fuit ab illis in Normanniam et in senescallum Normanniæ relaxaretur; et ut prædicti cardinales ad honorem Dei et Romanæ ecclesiæ tractarentur.

The queen and justiciars send the bishop of Durham to the legates.

Sed prædictus Dunelmensis episcopus noluit ab Anglia recedere, donec omnia clericorum suorum negotia pro voluntate sua adimplerentur; scilicet negotium Henrici Marescalli decani Sancti Petri Eboraci, et negotium Buccardi ejusdem ecclesiæ thesaurarii; et Hugonis Murdac et Adæ de Tornovere, ejusdem ecclesiæ canonicorum, et Petri de Ros archidiaconi Carliolensis, quos Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus vinculo anathematis innodaverat. Ad instantiam enim

The bishop will not quit England until his quarrels are arranged.

A.D. 1192. The justiciars order the archbishop to restore the revenues of the bishop's clerks.

Dunelmensis episcopi, Walterus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus et cæteri justitiarii Angliæ districtius in mandatis dederunt Gaufrido Eboracensi archiepiscopo, per litteras domini regis, sigillo illius signatas, ut omni excusatione et dilatione remota, redderet prædictis Dunelmensis episcopi clericis omnes redditus suos, et cætera omnia quæ eis abstulerat. Quod si facere noluisset, statuerunt Willelmum de Stutevil et viros potentes qui illum ad hoc faciendum compellerent, vel totum archiepiscopatum suum in manu regis saisiarent.

The archbishop refuses to do so, unless the clerks will come to him for absolution.

Qui cum venissent, oraverunt ut acciperent redditus et possessiones illis ablatas; sed noluit prædictus archiepiscopus audire petitionem illorum, nisi prædicti omnes venissent nudi ad limina beati Petri ecclesiæ Eboraci, et ibi absolutionem accepissent, data prius securitate standi judicio capituli Eboracensis ecclesiæ de omnibus controversiis quæ erant inter illum et illos. Qui cum per aliam viam procedere nequivissent, præfatus Buccardus, et Hugo Murdoc, et Adam de Tornevere, et Petrus de Ros, noluerunt diutius malignari contra archiepiscopum suum et pastorem animarum suarum: venerunt ad limina ecclesiæ Eboracensis, et ibi meruerunt absolvi, et juraverunt super sacrosancta Evangelia, quod juri starent super omnibus controversiis quæ erant inter prædictum archiepiscopum et illos secundum canonicorum suorum judicium. Deinde introducti sunt in ecclesiam, et archiepiscopus reddidit illis redditus suos et possessiones; et recepit illos in osculo pacis et in mensa, et pacem et finalem concordiam fecit inter præfatum Buccardum, ecclesiæ Eboracensis thesaurarium, et Hamonem ejusdem ecclesiæ præcentorem, in hunc modum: quod prædictus Buccardus dedit prænominato Hamoni ecclesiam de Alna, quæ principale membrum est thesaurariæ Eboraci, pro bono pacis. Et ipse Hamo quietam clamavit Buccardo thesaurariam illam, tamen quod post decessum illius vel vitæ mutationem, vel si ad majorem dignitatem

They submit and are placed in their stalls and restored to favour.

fo. 187 v°.

motus fuerit, thesauraria illa redibit ad Hamonem præcentorem, et ipse inde fiet thesaurarius. Hæc itaque pax et finalis concordia inter prædictos viros facta fuit, de voluntate et arbitrio Gaufridi Eboracensis archiepiscopo, et sigilli sui munimine confirmata. A.D. 1192.

Henricus autem Marescallus, Eboracensis ecclesiæ decanus, noluit se humiliare et ad satisfactionem venire, sicut prænominati socii sui fecerunt. Sed superbe locutus est contra dominum suum archiepiscopum, et remansit in eadem sententia anathematis, in qua prius erat. Et ipse archiepiscopus vero superaddidit maledictionem maledictioni, et civitatem cessare fecit a divinæ celebrationis officio, et a sonitu campanarum, quamdiu ipse ibidem mansit. The dean refuses to submit and remains excommunicated.

Hoveden, 410. a. 18, much shorter.

Hugo vero Dunelmensis episcopus, cupiens adimplere voluntatem reginæ et comitis Meretonii et justitiariorum regis, transfretavit inter Dovere et Witsant, et applicuit in Flandria; et quamcitius potuit venit Parisius, et ibi invenit prædictos cardinales; quos blando sermone allocutus dolorem illorum lenivit, quem de repulsa eis facta in Normannia in animo conceperant adversus senescallum Normanniæ et complices suos. Et cum magno labore effecit et industria quod prædictus Ostiensis episcopus sententiam quam dederat in senescallum et complices suos, et in Normanniam, relaxaret: si ipse senescallus et complices sui jurassent se stare juri ecclesiastico super injuria prædictis cardinalibus illata; et si senescallus ille permisisset illos venire in Normanniam usque ad Rothomagum, non ut cardinales, sed ut advenas; ita tamen quod clerus Normanniæ invenisset eis impensas decem dierum ad quinquaginta homines et quadraginta equos; et prædicti cardinales supponerent se omnino arbitrio Hugonis Dunelmensis episcopi, et Johannis Rothomagensis decani, de pace inter illos facienda. At quia senescallus Normanniæ nullo modo concedere voluit, quod prædicti cardinales venissent in Normanniam sine licentia domini sui regis Angliæ; ipse vero remansit excom-

The bishop of Durham finds the legates at Paris.

He prevails on the bishop of Ostia to remit the sentence; if the steward will suffer them to come to Rouen.

A.D. 1192. The steward refuses to do so without the king's leave. The bishop intercedes for him. fo. 188 r°. The pope remits the interdict. Quarrel between the canons and citizens of Rouen. No mass is celebrated from Nov. 25 to Easter.

municatus, et terra sub interdicto, et prædicti cardinales abierunt. Quibus abeuntibus, Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus, ad petitionem senescalli, secutus est eos usque Wezeliacum, ut cum illis pro eo pacem faceret.

Interim dominus papa sententiam illam et interdictum Normanniæ relaxavit, et relaxari fecit a legatis, et præcepit quod non intrarent in Normanniam.[1] Hoveden. 410. a. 20.

Eodem anno orta est gravis dissensio inter clericos, scilicet canonicos, Rothomagi et cives civitatis. Canonici namque murum novum fecerant circa cœmeterium suum, et collegerant intus mercatores: et visum erat civibus quod hoc fiebat ad detrimentum civitatis: et petierunt ut canonici prosternerent opus illud, et nolebant. Unde factum est quod quadam die cives ex communi consilio irruerunt, et murum illum funditus subverterunt. Canonici autem petebant a civibus reædificationem muri, et cautionem standi judicio ecclesiæ, et noluerunt. Tunc canonici cruces ecclesiarum deposuerunt, et omnes ecclesias civitatis a Divino cessare fecerunt officio; et sic a festo Sanctæ Katerinæ usque ad Pascha cessavit civitas a celebratione missæ, et jacebant corpora mortuorum per plateas inseputa. Ad Pascha vero cives introduxerunt presbyteros advenas, et fractis ecclesiis fecerunt eos celebrare in illis, et communionem Corporis et Sanguinis Domini ab eis receperunt. Johannes vero decanus Rothomagi, et canonici ejusdem ecclesiæ, fugerunt ad Andeli, villam Rothomagensis archiepiscopi, et ibi manserunt.

Explicit.

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[1] With these words Brompton's extracts from our Chronicle end, c. 1240. He proceeds with the account of the Crusade from the Itinerarium, following it up with extracts from William of Newburgh, Walter of Hemingburgh, and Ralph of Coggeshall.

[*Sequitur eadem manu Lamentatio de morte Regis Ricardi.*] [1]

Neustria sub clypeo regis defensa Ricardi
Indefensa [2] modo, gestu testare dolorem.
Exsudent oculi lacrymas, exterminet ora
Pallor, connodet digitos tortura, cruentet
Interiora dolor, et verberet æthera clamor.
Tota peris [3] ex morte sua. Mors non fuit ejus
Sed tua; non una sed publica mortis origo.
O Veneris lacrymosa dies! O sidus amarum!
Illa dies tua nox fuit et Venus illa venenum.
Illa dedit vulnus, sed pessimus ille dierum
Primus ab undecimo, qui vitæ vitricus [4] ipsam
Clausit, uterque dies homicida, tyrannide mira,
Trajecit clausus exclusum, tectus apertum
Providus incautum, miles munitus inermem,
Et proprium regem. Quid miles perfide, miles
Perfidiæ? miles pudor orbis, et unica sordes
Militiæ? miles manuum factura suarum!
Ausus es hoc in eum? scelus hoc? scelus istud es ausus,
O dolor! O plusquam dolor! O mors! O truculenta
Mors! esses utinam mors mortua. Quid meministi
Ausa nefas tantum? Placuit tibi tollere solem?
Et tenebris damnare [5] solum? Scis quem rapuisti?
Ipse fuit jubar in oculis, et dulcor in aure,
Et stupor in mente: scis impia quem rapuisti?
Ipse fuit dominus armorum, gloria regum,
Deliciæ mundi, nihil addere noverat ultra.
Ipse fuit quicquid potuit natura. Sed istud
Causa fuit quare rapuisti. Res pretiosas
Eligis, et viles quasi dedignata refutas. [6]
Et de te, Natura, queror; quia nonne fuisti
Dum mundus puer esset adhuc, dum nata [7] jaceres
In cunis in eo studiosa? nec ante senectam
Destitit hoc studium. Cur sudor tantus in orbem
Attulit hoc mirum, si tam brevis abstulit hora

---

[1] This is an extract from Geoffrey de Vinsauf's *Nova Poetria*, which was printed by Polycarp Leyser, in his *Historia Poetarum et Poematum Medii Ævi*, pp. 861–978; and separately at Helmstadt in 1724. The lament occupies vv. 366 to 428 of the poem. See also Brompton, 1280.

[2] *Indefensa*] Indefessa, B.

[3] *peris*] paris, B.

[4] *vitricus*] victricus, B.

[5] *damnare*] tenebrare, Leyser.

[6] *refutas*] relinquis, Leyser.

[7] *nata*] nuda, Leyser.

Sudorem tantum? Placuit tibi tendere[1] mundo
Et revocare manum? dare sic et tollere donum?
Cur irritasti mundum? vel redde sepultum
Vel forma similem. Sed non tibi suppetit unde.
Quicquid erit tecum vel mirum vel pretiosum,
Huic erat impensum. Thesauri deliciarum
Hic sunt exhausti. Ditissima facta fuisti
Ex hac factura. Fieri pauperrima sentis
Ex hac jactura. Si felix ante fuisti
Tanto plus misera quanto felicior ante.
Si fas est accuso Deum. Deus optima rerum
Cur hic degeneras? Cur obruis hostis amicum?
Si recolis pro rege facit Jope Tua; quam tot
Millibus oppositus solus defendit. Et Accon
Quam virtute sua Tibi reddidit, et Crucis hostes
Omnes quos vivus sic terruit ut timeatur
Mortuus. Ipse fuit sub quo Tua tuta fuerunt.
Si Deus es, sicut decet esse, fidelis et expers
Nequitiæ, justus et rectus, cur minuisti
Ergo dies ejus? Potuisti[2] parcere mundo.
Mundus egebat eo, sed cum magis eligis esse
Tecum quam secum; mavis succurrere cœlo
Quam mundo. Domine, dicam, si dicere fas est,
Pace Tua posses fecisse decentius istud
Sed[3] properasse minus, saltem dum fræna dedisset
Hostibus. Et facti mora tanquam nulla fuisset
Res erat in foribus; tunc posset honestius ire
Et remanere Tibi. Sed in hac re scire dedisti
Quam brevis est risus, quam longa est lacryma mundi.

Item de gloriosis ejus victoriis in Itinere Ierosolimitano.[4]

Rex Ricarde jaces; sed si mors cederet armis,
  Victa timore tui, cederet ipsa tuis.
Laus tibi prima fuit Siculi, Cyprus altera, Jope
  Tertia; quarta dromo; quinta cavarna fuit.
Suppressi Siculi; Cyprus pessundata; Jope
  Tenta; dromo mersa; capta cavarna fuit.

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[1] *tendere*] tradere, Leyser.
[2] *Potuisti*] Potuisses, Leyser.
[3] *Sed*] Et, Leyser.
[4] These lines are found in company with the Lament in Brompton, 1281, and in other places. Cf. Itinerarium R. R. p. 450.

GLOSSARY.

GLOSSARY.

A.

ADRESCIARE, i. 5; addresser, Fr.; addirizzare, Ital., ad directum restituere; to render account for, repair, or make amends for.

ALEVOSO, i. 150; a Spanish word, signifying a traitor.

ASSISA, i. 107; a law passed in the general assize.

AUBERGELLUM, i. 270; a breast-plate.

AVERE, i. 141; *avoir;* substance.

AURICHALCUM, i. 131; (apparently) brass gilt; the ancient *orichalcum* was pure brass.

B.

BRASCHETUS, ii. 180; a brachet; a dog used for hunting the hare and fox, different from the Leporarius.

BRENNON, ii. 132; bran.

BUCIA, ii. 112; BUSCIA, ii. 163; a buss, a large ship.

C.

CANTREDUS, i. 163; cantref; a division of a province corresponding with the hundred.

CAPELLET, i. 278; a head piece.

CAPPA, i. 113; a cape.

CARECTA, i. 43; CARETTA, i. 74; a cart.

CARVANNA, ii. 41; a caravan.

CURSARIA, ii. 95; a swift ship.

D.

DECIUS, ii. 32; a die for gambling.

DEMANIUM, i. 170, = Dominium; demesne.

DISPENSA, ii. 149; a store-room or warehouse.

DISTRICTÆ, ii. 204; straits.

E.

EFFORCIARE, i. 81; to fortify.

ESTERLINGUS, ii. 100; marcæ and libræ Esterlingorum; marks and pounds of Easterlings, or sterling.

EXTHACIUS, ii. 52. If this word is not corrupt, it probably means some sort of domestic servant, or dependent, or messenger. Cf. Du Cange, *s. v.* Stagium, Stare.

F.

FALSONERIA, i. 108; a forger or corrupter of the coinage.

FOSSATUM, or FOSSUM, i. 42, &c.; a ditch.

H.

HURDICIUS, ii. 144, 169; the hurdle under which a storming party approached the walls of a city; sometimes any machine or engine of war.

I.

IMPRISA, i. 77; undertaking; engagement.

INFORCIARE, i. 78, 82; to fortify.

J.

JUSTITIA, i. 107, &c.; a justiciar, or justice.

L.

LACEATUS, ii. 32 = Laqueatus; fringed or laced.

LIGANTIA, i. 3, &c.; allegiance.

LEUCATA, ii. 131; properly the space of a league; a suburban district, or banlieue.

LUPUS, i. 23; the name given by the Western historians to the successive Mahometan kings of Valencia in Spain.

M.

MAISNEDA, i. 171; a household; menage; meynie.

MANTICA, ii. 48; a scrip or pouch.

MARABOTINUS, i. 153; a maravedi.

MEDIANETUM, i. 143; an arbitration.

MELSEMUTUS, ii. 152. *See* note at the place. The name Mausamuz (R. de Monte, 927) or Macemut (R. de Diceto), is given to the second monarch of the Almohade dynasty.

N.

NAMTIRE, i. 194; to take as a pledge, namium.

O.

ODORISEQUUS, ii. 180; a hound.

P.

PALEFRIDUS, ii. 106; a riding horse.

PASTEA, ii. 131; pastry.

PERPERUS, i. 250; a Byzantine coin equal to a fourth part of the mark of gold.

POTIONATUS, ii. 149; poisoned.

PRISA, i. 5; a taking; an exaction.

PRISO, i. 60, 78; a prisoner.

PRORETHA, ii. 63; Greek, πρωρητής; the master of a vessel.

PUMBONE, ii. 112. An obscure word applied to the galley used by king Richard. It is uncertain whether it was the name of the vessel, or of its owner, or descriptive of the character of the galley.

Q.

QUINTALLUS, ii. 204; a weight of a hundred pounds.

R.

Religare, ii. 164; to gather; or, perhaps, = Relegare.

Retatus, i. 108; put upon trial; i. q. Reus. The word is printed in Savile's Hoveden *rectatus*.

Rewardum, ii. 100; the reguard of the forest. *See* Manwood, vii. 4.

Roberia, i. 108; robbery.

S.

Salices ii. 63, = Salaces; active, nimble.

Salma, ii. 133; a seam or quarter of grain.

Solidarius, ii. 50; Soldarius, i. 61; a soldier serving for pay.

Sonare, ii. 132; to try a coin by sounding it.

Sterlingus, ii. 67; money in general.

Stolium, i. 171; a fleet.

Sumarius, i. 43; ii. 106; a pack horse.

Summa, ii. 145; a horse load; a quarter or seam; *v.* Salma.

Syria, Siria, ii. 100; a shire.

T.

Terrim, ii. 32; Terrins, ii. 133; Sicilian coin, called tarenus or taris, weighing 20 grains of gold. It is printed in Savile's Hoveden *teruncius*.

Trega, ii. 7, &c.; i. q. Treuga; a truce.

U.

Ufsers, ii. 159; a sort of vessel called huissier, or usher.

V.

Vagium, i. 79; i. q. Vadium; security.

Villicanus, i. 5; a steward.

W.

Wambasia, i. 270, 278; a gambison; a thick quilted coat; a buff jacket.

Y.

Yconia, ii. 121; an image.

Z.

Zafadola, i. 147. Ahmed Seif-ed-daulah Benhoud, the last king of Saragossa.

GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX AND GLOSSARY.

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A.

B.

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BAUNIACUM, in Languedoc (?), i. 200.

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